OBSERVATIONS

ON VARIOUS

PASSAGES OF SCRIPTURE.

PLACING THEM IN A NEW LIGHT;

AND

ASCERTAINING

THE MEANING OF SEVERAL, NOT DETERMINABLE BY THE METHODS COMMONLY MADE USE OF BY THE LEARNED;

ORIGINALLY COMPILED

BY THE

REV. THOMAS HARMER,

FROM

RELATIONS INCIDENTALLY MENTIONED IN BOOKS OF VOYAGES AND TRAVELS INTO THE EAST.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

FIRST AMERICAN, FROM THE FOURTH

LONDON EDITION.

WITH A NEW ARRANGEMENT, MANY IMPORTANT ADDITIONS, AND INNUMERABLE CORRECTIONS,

BY ADAM CLARKE, L.L.D.

Impellimur autem Natura, ut prodesse velimus quamplurimis imprimisque docendo,
Itaque non facile est invenire, qui quod sciat ipse, non tradat alteri.
Cic. de Fin. lib. iii.

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PREFACE

TO THE FOURTH EDITION. *

THE following work having become exceedingly scarce, I was requested, about two years ago, to prepare a new edition for the press. Two reasons induced me willingly to undertake this task, 1. A conviction of the great utility of the work; and 2. the possibility of improving it, so that it might better answer its original design.

In reference to this intended improvement, I had already made some considerable collections of additional materials, to be arranged under the same heads; and had corrected many things in the former edition.

To make the work more worthy of the patronage by which it had been honoured, I judged it necessary to make a *new arrangement* of its materials; for as the four volumes were published at two different times, and the two last under the same arrangement as the two former, giving *additional* information on the same subjects, I saw it necessary to amalgamate the *first* with the *third*, and the *second* with the *fourth*. This I found an extremely difficult task, as multitudes of the Observations had to be variously transposed to bring them into connexion with those of a similar denomination, without which a heterogeneous mixture must have been the consequence. With this, both the Printer and myself were often puzzled; and notwithstanding all the care that has been taken, I have observed a few that have got out of their proper places; and probably the reader may find out more.

Though the language of Mr. Harmer is generally plain and sufficiently perspicuous, yet it must be allowed to be, upon the

* *Two* editions were published by Mr. Harmer; the *third* was printed last year on nearly a similar plan with the present, but the whole of it was destroyed by a fire in the printing-office. To this *fourth* edition many valuable materials are added that were not in the preceding.

whole, rather inelegant. But as his materials were drawn from a multitude of sources, and the accounts given in the words of the authors quoted, this was inevitable, as much inequality in the style and manner of these different authors must necessarily prevail. This could not have been remedied in the present edition, unless the whole work had been rewritten. I have however corrected the language and punctuation, I may safely say, in some thousands of places; which, however they may minister to the greater correctness and perspicuity of the work in general, will be utterly imperceptible to any reader who does not compare, word for word, the former with the present edition: a labour which no man who sets any value upon time, will ever undertake.

About the time I began this work, fortunately the two first volumes of the former edition, once the property of the late Dr. Russell, fell into my hands. These I found to contain a great number of valuable notes written in the margin with his own hand, generally *confirming* and further *elucidating* the Observations of Mr. Harmer. Dr. Russell had read Mr. H's work with great attention, had reconsidered not only the facts for which he was quoted by Mr. H. but likewise the general tenor of the work; and from his long and extensive acquaintance with the natural history, customs, manners, &c. of the East, and his reverence for the Sacred Writings, he was qualified beyond most, to cast light upon every subject discussed in the OBSERVATIONS. His invaluable, though short remarks, I have taken care to introduce in their proper places, referring them always to their author. For this part of my work, I doubt not, I shall have the thanks of all my readers.

Besides what I have inserted from Dr. Russell's MS. notes, I have introduced many important matters from Dr. Shaw, which Mr. Harmer had professedly left untouched, from the supposition that *Shaw's Travels* were in the hands of every reader! However this might have been in Mr. H's time, I cannot say; but at present the work is *very scarce*, and *very dear*. I have borrowed also, from a variety of authors, who are referred to in the Notes, many of the materials with which I have endeavoured to enrich this edition. Much of the matter concerning *Egypt* is entirely new; as are many articles in the department of *Miscellaneous Matters*. These have been chiefly furnished by *Shaw*, *Sonnini*, *Anquetil du Perron*, *Bruce*, and Dr.

Buchanan's Travels in the Mysore. From Mr. *Jackson's journey overland from India*, I have also collected some valuable materials.

Among Mr. Harmer's repeated references to the *originals* of the Scriptures, it was only in very rare instances that a word of *Hebrew* or *Greek* was introduced: this intolerable deficiency I have supplied by introducing the original words wherever they are referred to; and often adding further proofs and illustrations. To render this part of the work in some measure interesting to the unlearned reader, I have taken care to put the *Hebrew* word in *italic* characters, and have given the orthography in general, according to the *masoretic points.*

In not a few places I have given appropriate quotations from *Arabic* and *Persian* authors, when the subjects discussed required this kind of collateral evidence. Testimonies from such writers in reference to the customs and manners of their own times and country, must be considered of the first respectability. Had I not been much straitened for time, through a great variety of other avocations, such quotations would have been much more abundant; but I could do but little comparatively in this way, as I was obliged to *compose*, from my own types, every thing I introduced from these languages, as the printers had no founts of Arabic letter during the time this work was passing through the press.

As Mr. Harmer had referred in several places of his Observations on Egypt, to the famous *Prenestine Pavement*, I thought it proper to introduce a *correct outline* of this piece of antiquity, with its description taken partly from Father *Montfaucon*, and partly from Dr. *Shaw*. This *plate* and its *description*, form a valuable appendage to the present edition.

After the whole of this labour had been performed, and the four volumes entirely printed off, the Index and one sheet excepted, every copy of the edition was consumed by a fire, which totally destroyed the printing office, and left not one wreck behind. I was obliged therefore to begin the work anew, and had particularly to regret the loss of some important materials for the concluding sheets, which were consumed with the rest, and of which I had no *duplicates*. I have now once more brought the work to a close, and hope it will in some measure merit the approbation, and meet with the patronage of the public. Of the work itself, my opinion may be seen in the painful labour of

arranging, correcting, improving, and editing, which I have so long sustained. A deep conviction of its great importance and worth, led me to undertake the task at first: and, when baffled in my hopes by a wise, but inscrutable Providence, a continuance of the same conviction led me to resume this task, and patiently plod once more to its end.

Of the *delay* and the *fire*, however prejudicial to the Editor and Proprietors, the Public will have little cause to complain; as this *last* edition has been greatly improved, not only by further corrections and numerous notes, but, 1. by a *head of contents to each observation*; 2. a short specimen of the advantage that may be derived from the Greek and Roman Classics for the explanation of various passages in the Sacred Writings; and 3. a copious table of the contents of each observation, &c. which are entirely original, and amount in the whole to several additional sheets.

I need not say that every man who wishes to understand the Scriptures as far as they relate to oriental customs and manners, or who professes to explain them to others, should not only possess a copy of this work, but endeavour thoroughly to understand its contents. Without such a work, ninety-nine out of every hundred of those who profess to teach the Church of God, must remain, in many important respects, ignorant of the contents of that book, which alone contains the science of salvation.

I have sometimes taken the liberty to dissent from Mr. Harmer, for which I have given my reasons in the proper places. I thought it better to do this than to expunge what I deemed wrong or incorrect: both opinions being thus brought before the reader, he is left to judge for himself, and however he may determine, cannot complain that he is presented with a mutilated copy of the original.

To my own *notes*, I have subjoined the word EDIT. to distinguish them from those of Mr. Harmer; but the *many additions* I have made to the *text*, and not unfrequently of *whole Observations*, I have, in general, left undistinguished.

I have endeavoured, as far as possible, to prevent mistakes: those the candid reader may find, he is requested to excuse and correct.

It will probably be gratifying to many readers of this work to learn, that, through the means of some very intelligent and literary friends in India, I have instituted a number of inquiries

relative to the customs, manners, arts, and sciences, referred to in the Sacred Writings, and still current in the East, as well as to the other subjects treated of in this work, from which I may reasonably expect much light, and much important matter for at least one additional volume. The gentlemen to whom I refer, are well qualified for the task they have undertaken, not only from their extensive acquaintance with India, where they have resided for many years, but also from their thorough knowledge of the principal Asiatic tongues.

May the glorious AUTHOR of that Divine Revelation, which this work is designed to illustrate, accompany it with his blessing to every reader!

A. CLARKE.

LONDON, *July* 1, 1808.

PREFACE

OF THE

ORIGINAL COMPILER TO THE FIRST EDITION OF THE

TWO FIRST VOLUMES.

LEARNED men have often employed themselves in noting down places of the *Greek classics*, which they have thought explanatory of passages of Scripture, and many volumes of *observations* of this kind have been published to the world, from whence succeeding commentators have taken them, and placed them in their writings; but modern books of travels and voyages, which, if carefully perused, will afford as many observations, as curious, and as useful, have not, I think, been treated after this manner. An attempt then of the kind, which appears in these papers, is, so far as I know, *new*, and as such will, I hope, be received by the public with approbation, or at least with candour.

I do not mean in speaking this to say, that no one of the numerous writers of travels into the East ever observed the conformity between some of their present customs, and certain corresponding passages of Scripture: it has been done most certainly, and the resemblance has been *so striking*, and the thing *so curious*, that they could not in some cases well avoid taking notice of it; but what I mean is, that no one, that I know of, has set himself *purposely*, and *at large*,* after the manner of those that have published observations on the ancient Greek writers, to remark these resemblances: an infinite number almost, of very amusing and instructing particulars are taken no notice of; and those *few* that are mentioned are, in a manner, lost amidst a crowd of other matters.

* This was certainly done by Sir J. Chardin, and to his MS. collection, which fell into the hands of Mr. Harmer previous to the publication of the second edition of the two first volumes, the work is greatly indebted. EDIT.

Accounts of countries, very remote from those that were the scene of those transactions which are recorded in the Bible, may pour some light over particular passages of Scripture, in the same way, as Buchanan's relation of the manners of the ancient inhabitants of *Scotland* may illustrate some circumstances recorded by Homer, whose Iliad speaks of *Greek* and *Asiatic heroes;* for there is a *sameness in human nature every where*, under the *like degree of uncultivatedness:* so we find there were no *professed surgeons* in old *Scotch* armies, as well as none among those of the Greek, but the great warriors themselves understood the art of healing, and practised it; and this skill was reckoned a military accomplishment. The examining, however, the narratives of what travellers have observed, in the Holy Land *itself*, is still more amusing, and, at the same time, may justly be supposed to be more instructive; since *many* of their ancient customs remain *unaltered*, and references to those ancient customs appear every where in the Scriptures.

That their customs in general remain unaltered, on which much depends in the following papers, is a fact that admits of no doubt: indeed, it is so incontestable, that the Baron de Montesquieu, in his Spirit of Laws, has endeavoured to assign a natural cause for it; and whether we admit his explanations, or not, the fact cannot be denied. A *multitude* of writers have mentioned it, and as a thing they were extremely struck with.

The traveller who has given us the greatest entertainment of this kind, of any that I have met with, is the late Dr. Shaw, in that curious and useful book of travels, which was first published in folio in the year 1738, and reprinted nineteen years after in quarto with some alterations. Yet there are many things which he has omitted, as well as some that will not bear a *close* examination. Nor are his omissions at all to be wondered at, though he was, as his profession obliged him to be, intimately acquainted with the Scriptures, and long lived in the East: for the human mind is naturally very much limited in its operations, and cannot well pursue different things at once; and consequently, as his thoughts were very much taken up in illustrating the classics, in adding to the treasures of natural knowledge, and in forming dissertations on particular points, it is no wonder that he did not observe, that many things that he saw, and some that he has related, tended to illustrate passages of Scripture, which he had no particular occasion to consider. A by-stander pays him-

self no great compliment, in supposing he has remarked some things of this sort, not altogether unworthy of notice, which the Doctor is silent about, for a much less discerning eye than that of such an author, that sets itself purposely, and repeatedly, to compare every occurrence related in a book of travels, with what he can recollect of the Scriptures that may be thought analogous, must be supposed to observe various things that escaped the notice of the other, and which, for much the same reasons, must escape the observation of those that read such a book in the common way.

Dr. Shaw, however, has done so much of this kind, and so happily illustrated such a number of Scriptures, that in the following papers I shall suppose all my readers are acquainted with his writings, and shall therefore often refer to him without such attending explanations as might be requisite in another situation; and, at the same time, I shall purposely avoid every thing, that he has *expressly* remarked, of the nature of the ensuing Observations.* I shall do the same as to what other writers of voyages have taken notice of *in the same way*, as I am limiting myself in these papers to things they have *incidentally*, and *undesignedly* mentioned; though a collection of their observations might be useful, as books of this kind are very expensive, and, at the same time, extremely numerous, and very many want to ascertain the meaning of those places of Scripture they have illustrated, who may have no opportunity of perusing those authors, or leisure to collect together things that are so *thinly* scattered. But however useful such a work might be, it is not what I am here pursuing: the observations and conjectures I propose to present to my readers have not been made by the writers I have used, they only *accidentally* mention the circumstances from whence I have deduced them; nor has *any* other author proposed the same thoughts to the world, so far as I recollect; no! they are *supposed* by me to be *new*, otherwise I had not published them; though amidst such a multitude of books as are to be found in the libraries of the learned, it is very difficult to say in many points, with positiveness, what is *new*. A man not unfrequently fancies himself a discoverer

* In this edition, the editor has availed himself liberally of Dr. Shaw's collections; first, because they are of great importance, and, secondly, because the book is so *scarce* and *dear*, that very few persons can have the opportunity of consulting it. EDIT.

of what was never known before, when it afterward appears that *more than one* have said the same thing before him. The same may happen to me, which, however, will be unhappy if it does, as novelty is the chief thing to recommend these Observations; they being *rather* of the *curious and amusing kind*, like *most* of those made by critics on the Greek classics, than of any *great importance*.

There is a vast number of books of travels, which might be read over in pursuing such a design as that I have been forming: it may not be improper then for me to give some account of those *I* have run over, leaving it to others, if they think fit, to examine those that have not fallen in my way.

1. The earliest writers of this sort, which have furnished me with materials, are those contained in that collection, entitled *Gesta dei per Francos*, printed at Hanover, in the year 1611. The crusades, which began in the close of the eleventh century, not only occasioned much greater numbers, of the inhabitants of Europe, to visit Palestine than had been usual in former times, but led several, that were present at those transactions, to publish an account to the world of achievements which they considered not only as *heroic*, but as *sacred*. These writers, which are thirteen in number, in the first tome, besides some other papers, and two in the second, had most of them visited these countries, and some of them possessed places of great distinction in the East.

2. *Rauwolff*, a German physician, though he lived several generations after the writers in the Gesta Dei per Francos, is the next oldest traveller into the East that I have searched into. He has mentioned several things designedly to illustrate the Scriptures, and commentators have adopted some of his remarks;* but besides these, he has mentioned other matters, which my reader will see *might* have been applied to the same use: but neither did Rauwolff put them to that use; nor have any of his numerous readers done it, that I know of. For this reason they have not been taken any notice of by commentators, though they give great clearness to some passages which they had to explain: a circumstance that sets the *propriety* of the present attempt in a very strong light. Rauwolff set out from Augsburg, in his travels for the East, in May 1573; his

* See Patrick on Gen. xviii. 6, &c.

Itinerary was, long after it was published, translated from the High Dutch, and makes the greatest figure in the collection of curious travels and voyages, published by the celebrated Mr. Ray: the second edition, printed in 1705, of this work of Mr. Ray, is that which is made use of in these papers.

3. *Sandys* is the next in order of time; he travelled over these countries in the reign of James I. My citations are from the sixth edition of his book, printed in 1670.

4. The other voyagers which I have examined, are, *Olearius* in French, translated and augmented by Wicquefort, printed at Amsterdam, with further enlargements, in 1727. These editions of Wicquefort, and of the later editor, are not distinguished from the original of Olearius; by which means I may possibly have ascribed to Olearius what does not properly belong to him, of which I thought it was right to give my reader this notice.

5. *Thevenot*, published at London in English, 1687

6. *Sir John Chardin*, London, 1686.

7 *Voyage dans la Palestine, fait par ordre du Roi Louis XIV.* taken from the papers of Mons. d'Arvieux, who was the person sent to the camp of the Great Emir of the Arabs of Mount Carmel, and published by *de la Roque*. A very curious performance, and full of circumstances that throw light on the Scriptures. The edition I made use of was that of Amsterdam, 1718.

8. *Voyage de Syrie and du mont Liban, a Paris*, 1722, by the same de la Roque, a book much less curious than the last that I mentioned.

9. *Voyages de Corneille le Bruyn au Levant, quarto, a la Haye*, 1732. *The description de l'Egypte, a Paris*, 1735, drawn up in the form of letters by the Abbot *le Mascrier*, from the Memoirs of *Mons. de Maillet*, who resided in Egypt a long time, as consul of France. A book drawn up with considerable elegance, but by no means remarkable for its accuracy, notwithstanding the many insinuations it gives us of its authenticity, derived from *the quality* of the author of the Memoirs. I have, however, given divers extracts from it, which have been the longer, because it has never, so far as I remember, appeared in English, as the others have.

10. *The Journal from Grand Cairo to Mount Sinai, and back again*, translated from the manuscript, written by the Prefetto

of Egypt, in company with the missionaries de propaganda fide at Grand Cairo, &c. octavo.

11. *Travels in Egypt and Nubia*, by Frederick Lewis Norden, F.R.S. captain of the Danish navy, published by the command of the King of Denmark, and translated by Dr. Templeman, in octavo, London, 1757. My reader will not find many extracts from this work; not however because I apprehend it has little value, for these travels are justly extremely celebrated, but merely because they happen not to contain many materials *proper* for me.

12. To these are to be added Egmont's and Heyman's *Travels through part of Europe, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and Mount Sinai*, &c. translated from the Low Dutch, and printed for Davis and Reymers, printers to the Royal Society, 1759: a book from which I have quoted several particulars, as it is affirmed by the writer, that *he mentioned nothing but what he had himself observed*;* and these travellers were persons, it should seem, of consideration, Van Egmont being *Envoy Extraordinary* from the United Provinces to the court of Naples, and Heyman *professor of the Oriental languages* in the University of Leyden. The translator *however* is visibly full of faults, and the book itself drawn up in a very strange manner. There is not so much as the date of one year *designedly* given us, through the whole work, in which they were at any of the places they have described; on the contrary, dates seem to be *industriously avoided*, and instead of a proper preface, giving an account of the authors, and of the times when they set out on these voyages, half of it is taken up by a harangue of no consequence at all, about the different objects that catch the attention of different travellers, and the other consists of as loose an account as can well be imagined of the authors, and of the work. We are told indeed that these observations were made in *two* visits which they paid these countries; and that in the first tour they spent *nine* years, and in the second *four*;† but we are not told when either of them began or ended, whether they made these voyages together or apart, or which of the two drew up the account; though the author expresses himself, perhaps, more than is common in writings *of this kind*, in the first person *singular*. However we may, possibly, pretty well supply these omissions, by laying circumstances together.

* Vol. i. p. 61. † Pref. p. 6.

When it is said in the Preface, that this work had *long* been desired by many learned and respectable members of the *University of Leyden*, and that these travellers *were* well known by the great figure they made, one would guess that these voyages were made a *considerable time ago*; and that the account was drawn up by him that was a *member of the University*; by Heyman. When we find an account of some cruelties exercised on the religious of Mount Carmel, in the year 1716,* on the one hand; and on the other, that Antonio Magliabecchi was about sixty, when they, or one of them, were at Florence,† who is known to have been born in October, in the year 1633; we find there must have been a considerable interval betwixt the first of these tours, of nine years, and the second of four. When that visit to Magliabecchi is supposed to have been *soon after* the first tour was undertaken, and that the Good Friday, just before that visit, fell on the *ninth of April*,‡ it appears that this tour must have begun in the close of the year 1693, and that they landed at Leghorn in the following April: *Good Friday* being on the *ninth of April*, N.S. that year, and in that year only, for a considerable time before and after; at which time Magliabechi was sixty years old, and about six months. If we know when the tour began, and that it took up nine years, we know what time it must have ended. The second tour must have commenced after the year 1711, when the Czar Peter the Great was in such a disadvantageous situation at the river *Pruth*, for they visited at Scio the Chan who commanded the Crim Tartars at that time, and who had been in exile before this at Rhodes:‖ on the other hand, it could not have been above *ten*, or *twelve years*, one would think, after that event, since they at the same time paid a visit to a son of this Chan, who had commanded a flying camp of twenty thousand Tartars, under his father, and yet was then but about *thirty years of age*.§ This seems to be confirmed by the date of the Firman, or Imperial Order, which they obtained at Constantinople, to enable them to make this tour with greater advantage, which is dated the first of the moon Moharem, 1033:** for if we suppose an error *only* in the second figure, *which certainly is wrong*, since the Turkish year 1033 answers the year of our Lord 1623; then 1033 is printed by mistake for 1153, which began in the close of our year 1720, about which time, it

* Vol. 2. p. 6. † Vol. 1. p. 43. ‡ See p. 21, and 22.

‖ Vol. 1. p. 256, 257. § P. 259. ** Vol. 1. p. 232.

should seem by other* circumstances, this tour began, which took four years, as we are told in the Preface. The writer or editor might have some particular views in involving his account in all this confusion; but as the perplexity was very disagreeable to me, I have been ready to imagine my reader, if ever he should peruse those travels, will not be displeased with this endeavour to ascertain, with a tolerable exactness, the time of these tours: and the rather, as there is an error in the *only* date of a year which is given us in the whole book, and given, I believe, without reflecting on it; for a studied care to conceal the times of these voyages, seems to run through both the volumes.

13. As to the *later English* travels, from which I have collected observations, I made use of the fifth edition of *Maundrell*, who has given us a justly admired relation of his journey, from Aleppo to Jerusalem, at Easter, A.D. 1697; and,

14. The fourth edition of *Pitt's Account of the Religion and Manners of the Mahometans*, printed in 1738.

15. *The history of the Piratical States of Barbary*, by a gentleman that resided there many years in a public character, which I made use of, was printed at London, in 1750.

16. My reader will also find that I have run over the two volumes, in folio, *of a description of the East*, by *Dr. Richard Pococke*, afterward a *Bishop* in Ireland, the first volume printed in 1743, the second in 1758.

17. *Dr. Russell's Natural History of Aleppo*, in quarto 1756;† and the accounts that are prefixed, by a gentleman of great ingenuity, to those copper plates, which exhibit so noble a representation of the *ruins* of Palmyra and Balbec, which were given to the public within a few years past.

These are all the books of this kind which I have examined, with any thing like a due attention, in pursuing the design which appears in these papers: here and there a quotation may be found from *other* books of no great importance; and one or two from *Mr. Hanway's Historical account of the British Trade over the Caspian Sea*, which I ran over in a cursory man-

* These circumstances also show, that it was at Easter, 1721, that they were at Jerusalem; and the summer of the same year in Egypt.

† In almost every instance I have consulted Dr. Russell's work; and from the edition published by his brother, 1794, 2 vols 4to. the quotations in this edition are taken. EDIT.

ner, before I thoroughly engaged in these disquisitions, and have not since returned to the reading those volumes.

But besides those books of travels, of which I have been giving a list, there is another of a different sort, of which I have made a good deal of use, and which therefore ought to be subjoined to the rest, and that is, the collections of Mons. d'Herbelot from the Oriental authors, called *Bibliotheque Orientale*, printed at Paris, in 1697: a book too well known among the learned to need any further account of it.

There are many observations, without doubt, besides those I have made, that may be collected from other travellers, which I have had no opportunity of perusing; and even these I have not examined with such accuracy, as to render a review of them by others useless; not to say, there are many other things that have occurred to *me* in reading them, besides those I have set down, which I have chosen to pass over in silence, for want of sufficient *precision* in those authors, and of the *means of determining* those matters with greater exactness from *other writers*, or from *conversation* with those that have visited these countries.

An opportunity of frequently conversing with such, could not fail, assuredly, of furnishing the curious inquirer with many further particulars, and the *want* of such an aid may be found but too sensibly in the following papers; there is, however, on the other hand, one advantage that arises from this want, and that is, my readers are more effectually secured, than they might otherwise be, from the danger of being imposed upon by a *misunderstanding of facts*, from an over-eagerness to accommodate them to such interpretations of the Scriptures, as, on other accounts, might appear probable. Here the illustrations that are proposed, are given us without any design of this nature, so nothing of this can produce any misrepresentations in these writers; the only difficulty to the collector is, not to overlook, in such a *multitude* of particulars, those circumstances that may be happily applied to the giving light to obscure passages.

The making use of that *variety* of authors, which I have given an account of, has occasioned what may a little perplex *some* of my readers, and perhaps give disgust to *more*: I mean the orthographical variations, which will be found in these papers, such as *Bashaw*, *Basha*, *Bassa*, *Pasha*, *Pacha*, which are different ways of spelling the title of a great Eastern officer, made

use of by the different authors, of which I have been giving the catalogue; *Sheck*, *Shekh*, *Sheik*, *Cheikh*, are in like manner the words they make use of to denote a person of eminence among the Arabs; the same may be observed in other cases.* I could not avoid this in the extracts I have given from these travellers, if I give them with exactness, which I endeavoured to do; nor in my after observations without, in a sort, taking upon me to decide which was the most proper way of forming these, and other Eastern names, into English words, which I by no means think myself qualified to do, and for that reason I generally, if not always, make use of those terms that the author I last cited thought fit to employ; my speculations relating to Eastern *customs*, not Eastern *terms*, and the manner of transfusing them with the greatest propriety into our language.

The perusing of travels, is, to most people, a very delightful kind of reading: but as gentlemen that publish accounts of this kind to the world, *seldom* think of illustrating the Scriptures; as those that have made observations of this nature content themselves with proposing a *very few*; as large collections of these writers are *very* expensive; and, after all, *numbers of useful things* will be found to have been passed over in silence by them *all*; and as most readers will not exercise *patience enough* to make these discoveries in their reading authors of this sort; I have been led to imagine, that the publishing some *observations of this kind*, and especially if formed into a *regular series*, could not well fail of being acceptable to the public, if executed in any tolerable manner. How far *these* papers answer such an idea, I must leave to my candid and goodnatured reader to determine. I have at least endeavoured to obey the precept which a gentleman in elder life, to whose instructions I paid great deference, gave me at my first setting out in a course of studies; *Make every kind of study pay its contribution to the oracles of God.*

If my design succeeds, Commentators will not, I hope, for the future, think they have extended their inquiries far enough, when they examine a text with grammatical nicety; they will, along with that, pay an *unbroken attention* to the *customs of the Eastern people*, and look upon this *additional care* as absolutely necessary

* In many places I have changed the orthography in the above words; the first should always be written *Pasha*, the second *Sheekh*. Many other words I have also brought much nearer to their originals. EDIT.

to make a *good* commentator. A deplorable want of which the judicious reader will, with indignation, find in many commentaries of name, and that where their authors lived in these very countries, who, by being on the spot, had the greatest opportunities to have made their interpretations much more complete and accurate, by referring, *with care*, to the natural history of those places, and *their ancient customs*. The following observations will show that St. Jerom is, unhappily, of the number of these.

ADVERTISEMENT

CONCERNING THIS SECOND EDITION.*

THE bookseller being desirous to reprint these papers, I have communicated to him several *additional observations*, of a like kind with the others, which have occurred to me since the publication of the first edition: some of them derived from authors before consulted, upon an after reviewing them; but most of them deduced from books of travels which I had not then seen.

Some of these are mentioned in the Preface to the Outlines of a new Commentary on Solomon's Song, published some years after my Observations: *Hasselquist* in particular, a celebrated Swedish physician, whose travels were translated, and printed in 1766; *Busbequius*, an Imperial ambassador, who gave the world an account of his journey into the East about two hundred years ago, in several letters; that edition that I made use of was printed at Oxford, in 1660; and the Letters of *Lady Mary Wortley Montague*, third edition, printed in 1763.

Besides these, I have perused a Voyage to Mount Libanus, by the Rev. Father *Jerome Dandini*, a Nuncio of Pope Clement VIII, who consequently travelled into the East about a hundred and seventy years ago; this was translated from the Italian, and printed in 1698; *Plaistead's* Journal from Calcutta to Busserah, and from thence across the great desert to Aleppo, &c. in the year 1750, second edition, 1758; a View of the Levant, particularly of Constantinople, Syria, Egypt, and Greece, by *Charles Perry*, M. D. 1743; and the Travels of *Alexander Drummond*, Esq. the British Consul at Aleppo, through several parts of Asia, as far as the banks of the Euphrates, London, 1754; and some others, which I need not distinctly mention.

The abovementioned writers have furnished me with several particulars: not only some notes of consequence, and some ad-

* i.e. of the *two first* volumes.

ditional clauses in the text, but some entire observations. But the greatest advantage to this edition are those additions *of all the various kinds* I have been mentioning, which have been furnished by some MS. papers of the late *Sir John Chardin*, who resided long in the East, was a very curious observer, and paid a particular attention to such matters as might serve to illustrate passages of Holy Writ; which led him to make many observations, very much resembling those that were heretofore published in this work.

There are six small MS. volumes of Sir John, which are still in being, and which I have perused on this occasion. They are referred to in the Preface to his printed travels, in which he mentions his design of other publications. They consist chiefly of memorandums, written with the *negligence* and *brevity* usual to papers of that kind. For this reason I have frequently translated them in a looser manner than I have done such authors as had finished their papers, and published them to the world; but I have been as careful as I could to retain *his sentiments with exactness.*

His observations sometimes give a new turn to the passages of Scripture which he is endeavouring to elucidate; but *oftener* further illustrate and confirm the explanations that are to be met with in other writers, and not unfrequently those formerly published in this work. I have selected those that seemed at all suited to the intention of this collection of mine; and I hope these additions will give a considerable degree of pleasure to my readers.

If they should, the public ought to be informed, that they are indebted for such instruction and pleasure to Sir Philip Musgrave, Baronet, a descendant of this eminent traveller, and the proprietor of these MSS. to whom I some time ago returned them. And I beg leave in this public manner to return my thanks to that gentleman, for granting me the liberty of perusing these papers, and for the permission he gave me of publishing any parts of them that I should select, as proper to be introduced into this work.

An ingenious and benevolent gentleman, with whom I was totally unacquainted, but who approved of this manner of illustrating the Scriptures, was so obliging as to give me the first notice that there were such papers in being; and to direct me

to a dignified clergyman, of very great distinction, both in the church and the literary world, by whose means I might hope to obtain a sight of them. This eminent personage accordingly, though a perfect stranger to me, was so condescending as to employ his interest with Sir Philip Musgrave, to procure me these manuscripts. This favour, which I should in any circumstance have considered as very great, was extremely enhanced, by the speedy and very complaisant manner in which he conducted this affair; but I am not allowed to mention his name, whose favours I should have been glad to have *distinctly* acknowledged with the deepest gratitude.

Some of my readers would have been pleased, very possibly, with the publication of several particulars of these MSS. considered merely as detached remarks from the papers of an eminent traveller; but as explaining or illustrating several passages of Scripture, the satisfaction, I persuade myself, as to many, will be considerably augmented. How happy would it be, if gentlemen of figure and genius, that delight in travelling, would more frequently direct their disquisitions to the same sacred and elevated purpose!

The letters MS. and MSS. are well known to be abbreviations of the words *manuscript* and *manuscripts*. My readers will easily imagine, when they find these abbreviations with the letter C joined to them, that they point out the papers of Sir John Chardin.

The very incorrect manner in which the first edition of this work was printed, has given me a great deal of uneasiness: I have taken considerable pains that this may be less faulty, as to errors of the press.

The additional observations of course occasion many of the others to be differently numbered from what they were in the first edition; but, as the reader may possibly sometimes meet with references to some of these observations, as they were numbered in the first edition, I have placed those numbers in the margin, that no confusion or trouble might arise from these alterations, so far as I could prevent them. I have also included the additional observations and notes in [], that those that only chuse to examine these enlargements, may be able to separate them, without trouble, from the rest.*

* None of these distinctions is preserved in the present edition, it being entirely useless, as the *double series* used in Mr. Harmer's editions, is here brought under one. EDIT.

The purchasers of the first edition may perhaps be inclined to be somewhat uneasy with so many additions; but those that are of a benevolent spirit will be willing, I persuade myself, to forgive my endeavouring further to illustrate these matters, referred to by the Sacred Writers. Those, however, that purchase this edition, may be assured I shall make no further additions, if the candour of the public should make any future edition wanted. Should any thing of importance hereafter present itself, I should rather chuse to throw such matters into a separate publication, and, perhaps, into some different form.

I cannot help afresh expressing my wish, at the close of this advertisement, that care might be taken to send proper persons into these countries, with a direct view to illustrate matters of this kind. I observed, at the end of the first edition, in an advertisement there, which it is unnecessary to reprint with the rest, that the learned world is extremely indebted to the late King of Denmark, for his readiness to gratify the curious Michaelis, by sending a number of academicians into the East for this very purpose: but the effort has not had all the success that could be wished.

Distinguished by many other advantages, which it possesses, I am ambitious that my *native country* should distinguish itself also in *such* a truly laudable pursuit. Expeditions to the South Seas, and even to Scotland, have furnished many objects of great *curiosity*, and may answer very valuable purposes, with respect to matters of *learning* as well as *civil life*; but what I am now wishing for would be attended with beneficial consequences of a SACRED nature.

Justice, however, requires me to observe, that Lieut. Niebuhr, the only surviving Danish academician, who very laudably extended his cares beyond his proper department, and has done all he could to retrieve matters, has published a volume, in consequence of this expedition, which I have seen, and the reader will meet with some remarks, in these papers, drawn from that work.

A learned and very ingenious friend of mine,* who has resided many years in Holland, has also lately informed me, that Niebuhr has published a second volume, which I never saw; and that a third is expected very soon, containing the Journal of

* The Rev. Mr. Sowden, of Rotterdam.

this expedition. He, at the same time, obligingly added, that my Observations have been so well relished by the *literati of the continent*, that they have been translated into French, and some other languages of those countries: this is throwing an honor on these Observations which I had no expectation of, and which, united with the kind reception these papers have met with at *home*, abundantly recompense me for all the pains and expense the forming this collection at first, and the enlarging it since, have cost me.

THOMAS HARMER.

Watesfield, near Bury St. Edmund's, Suffolk, Aug. 22, 1775.

MR. HARMER'S PREFACE

TO THE

FIRST EDITION OF THE TWO ADDITIONAL VOLUMES.

THE public received the two preceding volumes of Observations in so candid a manner, that I have been induced to publish a third and a fourth of a similar nature.

As the business of my life has been to study and endeavour to illustrate the Scriptures, as well as to press the truths contained in them on the heart, many *other* Observations have risen up to view, in looking again over the books I had before examined, as well as in perusing some I had never seen, when I made the Observations before published.

Sir Philip Musgrave, after having favoured me with the perusal of Sir John Chardin's manuscript notes on many passages of Scripture, most obligingly sent me, after the two first volumes of my Observations appeared, the three tomes of his Travels, printed in French, at Amsterdam, 1711, which furnished me with considerable additions, inserted in the third and fourth volumes: and I cannot but make my very grateful acknowledgments to Sir Philip, for this fresh instance of goodness.

A *very eminent member of the University of Cambridge*, obtained for me Vinisauf's account of the expedition of King Richard I. to the Holy Land, out of the University library; to whom also I acknowledge myself highly obliged, for this, as well as many other literary favours. This account of *Vinisauf* was published in the second volume of the collection of *old English historians*, printed at Oxford, in 1687

Several very agreeable remarks were communicated to me by a very learned and ingenious clergyman of the county of Suffolk, mostly indeed relating to what had been published in the two first volumes; but they have furnished some materials for these two succeeding ones. I would here return my very respectful thanks to this gentleman, and am sorry I am not at liberty distinctly to mention his name.

I also took a journey to London some time ago, expressly for the purpose of conversing with two persons on matters of this kind. The one was a very ingenious and friendly gentleman, who visited the East in 1774:* he very obligingly read over to me that part of his Journal which related to the Holy Land, and also communicated some other matters he recollected, about which I inquired, but which were not set down in his memorandums. The other was *Signior Lusignan*, the author of the History of the revolt of *Ali Bey*, of which the second edition, made use of by me, was printed at London, 1784, who not only had answered several queries I put to him by letter, but had assured me of his readiness to communicate any further eclaircissements I might want, in conversation, if I came to London, which he could not so well commit to writing, being a foreigner. This promise he very kindly fulfilled; and those communications were very useful to settle some matters, of such a minute nature as not to be met with in books of travels, but of considerable use to accomplish what I had in view. It gives me pleasure to think that my native country, the land of liberty and generosity, has received this Eastern refugee into her bosom, who appears to be not only a man of ingenuity, and great information as to Oriental matters, but has, I apprehend, the honour of being descended from a family, of which one wore the crown of the *Christian kingdom of Jerusalem* some centuries ago, and

* W. Boylston, Esq. of London.

others have suffered hardships on account of their attachment to the faith of Jesus.*

Besides these sources of information, I have consulted a variety of books, as I had opportunity, some printed since my first Observations; and others of an older date, but which I had no opportunity of consulting at that time. It may not be disagreeable to set down a catalogue of them here, in the order in which the travels were undertaken, or nearly so.

Itinerarium Benjaminis, in seculo 12mo, Ludg. Bat. 1633.

Itinerarium Sym. Simeonis, an. 1322, e cod. MS. in Bibliotheca Coll. Corp. Christi, Cantab. asservato. Cantab. 1778.

Voy. de Pietro della Vallé, an. 1614, &c. 8 tom. a Rouen, 1745.

Voy. into the Levant, by Henry Blunt, Lond. 1650.

Doubdan, Voy. de la Terre Sainte, Paris, 1661, 4to.

The present state of the Jews, more particularly those in Barbary, by L. Addison, Lond. 1675.

Relation of a Voyage into Mauritania, by the Sieur Roland Frejus, trans. from the French, Lond. 1671.

Account of the Religion and Manners of the Mahometans, by Jos. Pitts, 4th ed. Lond. 1738.

Voy. de l'Arabie Heureuse, 1708, 1709, 1710, Amst. 1716.

Journey to Mequinez, under Com. Stewart, in 1721, by Windus, Lond. 1725.

Travels in several parts of Turkey, Egypt, and the Holy Land, by James Haynes, Lond. 1774.

Dr. Richard Chandler's Travels in Asia Minor, Oxford, 1775, 4to.

——— his Travels in Greece, Oxford, 1776, 4to.

* So Moses, "when he was come to years, refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter, esteeming the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures of Egypt, for he had respect unto the recompense of reward." Heb. xi.

Niebuhr, Descript. de l'Arabie, Amst. & Utrecht, 1774, 4to.

——— Voy. en Arabie & en d'autres Pays circonvoisins, tome Ire Amst. & Utr. 1776; tome 2de, 1780, 4to.

Irwin's Voy. up the Red Sea, &c. 2d ed. 1780.

Major Rooke's Travels to the Coast of Arabia Felix, 2d ed. Lond. 1784.

Memoirs of the Baron de Tott, translated into English, 2 vols. Lond. 1785.

Besides these sources of information, I have consulted a variety of books, as I had opportunity, some printed since my first Observations; and others of an older date, but which I had no opportunity of consulting at that time. It may not be disagreeable to set down a catalogue of them here, in the order in which the travels were undertaken, or nearly so.

Besides some few others, which are seldom, if ever, cited. To which might be added, Tales, translated from the Persian of Inatulla of Delhi, 2 vols. London, 1768.

It is not to be expected, that these two volumes, I am now publishing, should strike the reader as sensibly as the two first: the charms of novelty must be much abated; though not quite lost.

They relate, in general, to the same topics as the preceding, and are placed under the like chapters, though I have numbered the Observations so as to make one series only, for the sake of brevity in quoting them.*

But though these Observations are placed under the same general heads, my reader will find they are not merely the same as before, only *further amplified*, *confirmed*, or *corrected*; they are *most* of them quite *new*, if I do not miscalculate, and may not only be read, I would hope, with some pleasure, but some considerable degree of information, as to matters not before at all touched upon.

* These are all reduced into one body in this edition, under their respective heads. EDIT.

In collecting these remarks, I have, from time to time, met with several things in books of travels, which seemed very much to illustrate certain passages of the *classics*, which were either passed over in silence, or very *unhappily* explained by modern commentators of the West, and those of great reputation, and acknowledged learning. Several of these I set down in papers apart, and designed to have placed them as an *appendix*, at the end of the second of *these* volumes; but as the Observations on the Scriptures took up more room than I expected, I have selected a part only as a *specimen*, to show how agreeable it would be, for those that write notes on the classics, to make use of this mode of illustrating *them*, as I have done with regard to the sacred writings. This Specimen I place at the close of this Preface, by which means the two volumes will be of much the same size.*

What I have said of the classics, may be applied also to *Josephus* and *St. Jerom*.

The paper relating to *Hector's* meeting with *Achilles* was drawn up, on the particular recommendation of that Suffolk clergyman I was speaking of. Indeed, the notes on that passage in *Pope's Homer* demonstrate, of what consequence the mode of explaining the classics I am now recommending would be, on many occasions.

I will only add, that I would hope I have not made too free with the *indulgence of the public*, in venturing these two additional volumes to the press; nor in adding this little Specimen of *Observations on the Classics*.

THOMAS HARMER.

Watesfield, near Bury St. Edmund's,
Suffolk, May 11, 1787

* The same reason for this arrangement exists in the present, as in the former edition. EDIT.

ADVERTISEMENT

TO THE

FOLLOWING SHORT ACCOUNT OF MR. HARMER.

THOUGH the Editor endeavoured to procure some more satisfactory accounts of the late Mr. Harmer, than had hitherto appeared, yet he has to regret that his endeavours have been nearly fruitless. Nothing of real importance was found, which could be added to the *character* given of this worthy man by *Dr. Symonds*, and the *additional account* by a correspondent in the *European Magazine*. These two pieces are therefore faithfully copied, and must, at present, supply the place of that more minute information, which it was out of the Editor's power to procure.

The zeal of Mr. Harmer for the respectability and honor of the Sacred Writings, demands the warmest acknowledgments of all his readers: but the ministers of the Gospel, of all sects and parties, are under lasting obligations to him, for striking out a new plan, on which, an easy and luminous solution is given of a vast number of Scriptures hitherto exceedingly obscure, and not a few on the common mode of interpretation utterly inexplicable.

CHARACTER OF MR. HARMER,

BY

DR. SYMONDS.

The reputation of Mr. Harmer, as a scholar and a divine, is, I believe, fully and universally established. If, as a writer, he may sometimes be thought inelegant in his style, and too minute in his investigation of facts, yet these defects are amply compensated by the general choice of his materials, and the clearness of method with which he digested and arranged them. Some books come into the world set off with all the ornaments of language; and with their authors are soon forgotten. They resemble those meteors, which, by their luminous appearance, attract our notice, and, in the same moment vanish from our sight. The credit of Mr. Harmer's writings rests upon a foundation strong and durable. He hath professedly treated a subject of the first importance, which had before been touched upon incidentally; and by showing at large the wonderful conformity between the ancient and modern customs in the East, hath not only thrown a considerable light upon numberless passages in the Bible, but hath opened new and fruitful sources of information for the use of future expositors. But it would be doing great injustice to Mr. H. to confine our attention to the fruits of his learning alone. As the whole purpose of his studies was to illustrate the Scriptures, so it was his constant endeavour to practise those duties which are therein declared to be essential to the forming of a true Christian. He was a man of unaffected piety, equally kind as a master, parent, and husband; meek and modest in his deportment, and invariably averse from every degree of intemperance and excess. Superior to all those narrow and illiberal prejudices which we are apt to imbibe from education or habit, he was governed by a general principle of benevolence; and though he was commonly called the Father

of the Dissenters, yet his good offices were so far from being confined to his own communion, that he acknowledged and encouraged merit wherever he found it. "I will apply to Harmer," was the usual language of every injured person in the neighbourhood; and it seldom happened that the aggressor was not soon induced, by his persuasion, to repair the injury that he had done; and I do not exaggerate, when I affirm, that there is not probably a single instance of an individual to be found, who, by a mild and seasonable interference, prevented more lawsuits than Mr. H. When we reflect that all these virtues which he so eminently possessed, were still heightened by the character of a peacemaker, to which an evangelical blessing is annexed, we cannot but look upon his death as a public loss; much less can we be surprised, that it should deeply affect all those who personally knew him and enjoyed his friendship; but by none is it more sincerely lamented, than by him who offers this slender tribute of regard to his memory. Mr. Harmer died at Watesfield, in Suffolk, Nov. 27, 1788. He was the author of,

1. Observations on divers Passages in Scripture, placing many of them in a light altogether new, ascertaining the meaning of several, not determinable by the methods commonly made use of by the learned, and proposing to consideration probable conjectures on others different from what had been hitherto recommended to the attention of the curious; grounded on circumstances incidentally mentioned in books of voyages and travels in the East, 8vo. 1764.

This edition being very incorrectly printed, was republished in 1777, with a second vol. and two more added in 1787.

2. The Outlines of a new Commentary on Solomon's Song, drawn by the help of Instructions from the East; containing 1. Remarks on its general Nature; 2. Observations on detached Places of it; 3. Queries concerning the rest of the Poem, 8vo. 1768, second edition, 1775.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE EUROPEAN MAGAZINE.

SIR, In your Magazine for October, 1789, you have inserted Dr. Symond's character of a very learned and respectable person, who deserved the tribute of respect paid to him: believing that further particulars would not be unacceptable to your readers, I send you some

BRIEF MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE, CHARACTER, AND WRITINGS OF

THOMAS HARMER.

THE Rev. Thomas Harmer was born in the city of Norwich, in the year 1715, of parents, who manifested great care to train him up in the knowledge and the fear of God, and to improve those distinguished talents, of which he gave very early evidence; and they soon had the pleasure to see their pains rewarded by his piety, diligence, and uncommon proficiency in literature. The Christian ministry, among the protestant dissenters, was the object of his own choice; and though his friends were in a situation to provide advantageously for him, could he have been prevailed on to engage in the manufactures of their city: he would, on no consideration, relinquish it. Having made considerable progress in Grammar learning, he entered upon academical studies, under the direction of the learned Mr. Eames, in London, with whom he continued till his 20th year. At that time, the independent church, in the village of Watesfield, in Suffolk, being without a pastor, Mr. Harmer was invited to preach to them. The very great zeal and earnestness of his preaching, joined with the ability and knowledge which he discovered, much beyond his years, induced them to give him not only an unanimous, but a most affectionate and urgent invitation, to take upon him the pastoral office among them. The situation was certainly obscure for a person of his shining talents, which promised to raise him to a station of distinguished eminence among his brethren. But he listened to the call of this society, wisely judging, that a connexion with such a plain

and serious people, would be particularly favourable to his own religious improvement, and that so retired a situation would afford him much leisure for pursuing his favourite studies. Upon his settlement here, Mr. H. devoted a great part of his time to his perfecting his knowledge of the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages, in each of which he became a critic. He acquired likewise an extensive and accurate knowledge of history, both ancient and modern, and no inconsiderable skill as an antiquarian. But the favourite object of his pursuit was Oriental science, which he applied for the illustration of the Sacred Writings, observing a striking conformity between the present customs of the Eastern nations, and those of the ancients, as mentioned or alluded to in various parts of Scripture. He conceived a design, at a very early period, of making extracts of such passages in books of travels and voyages, as appeared to him to furnish a key to many parts of Holy Writ. That he might avail himself of the assistance of foreign publications of this kind, he applied to the study of the French language, with which he soon became perfectly acquainted. An account of such foreign and other publications as he had read and digested, with a view to this useful design, is given by himself in his Preface to his "Observations on divers Passages of Scripture;" a work which he executed with great labour and accuracy. It was first published in one vol. 8vo. and met with a very favourable reception, though it suffered greatly from the inaccurate manner in which it was printed.

Mr. H. continuing the pursuit of this branch of knowledge, was soon in the possession of various new observations; and in the year 1776 he published a second edition of this work, in two 8vo. vols. The late learned Dr. Lowth, Bishop of London, much approved his undertaking, and not only honored the work by quotations from it, in his translation of the prophecy of Isaiah, but was pleased to correspond with the author on the subject of it. By the interest of this eminent and amiable prelate, Mr. H. was favoured with the MS. papers of the celebrated Sir John Chardin, which furnished him with a variety of curious additions to his work. After the appearance of this second edition, Mr. H. still continued indefatigable in further researches, till he collected materials for two additional volumes, the publication of which he completed a little before his death. Besides

this, which was his principal work, he published a very learned and ingenious performance, which he modestly entitled, "Outlines of a new Commentary on the Book of Solomon's Song." The chief design of which, as well as many passages in it, he places in a new and pleasing light: he also printed "An Account of the Jewish Doctrine of the Resurrection of the Dead;" "Remarks on the ancient and present State of the Churches of Norfolk and Suffolk;" An Address to those who are religiously disposed, as a persuasion of church fellowship, drawn up at the request of the associated ministers of Norfolk and Suffolk; likewise two or three single Sermons, of which one was preached on the death of Mr. Crabb, a worthy member of his church. His literary knowledge honored him with the esteem and acquaintance of the learned of all denominations; and in Ireland, as well as England, his correspondents were amongst men of the highest dignity in the established church; for Mr. H. though a zealous dissenter, was a man of such candour and moderation, of such piety, learning and affability, that he conciliated the esteem, and obtained the confidence of the worthiest men of all parties. But it is not easily conceived, how much regard was paid to him by those of his own denomination. In the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, more especially, he obtained peculiar respect and influence. Mr. H. was generally considered, as that person, who was, of all others, best qualified to advise his brethren, and the churches under their care, in cases of weight and difficulty. Among his own people, he was truly laborious, besides the ordinary services of the Lord's Day, for which to the last he was indefatigable in his preparatory studies, he took great pains in visiting the sick, in catechising the children, and instructing the youth of his flock, many of whom he had the pleasure of receiving into the communion of his church. It was, however, his constant practice to meet a number of his congregation, in the vestry, every Tuesday evening, for prayer, when he used to read a sermon, from the French of Saurin, Massillon, or some favourite author. He also preached two monthly lectures in the neighbouring villages, and was frequently engaged in other occasional services at a distance.

It might be truly said of him, that he was in labours more abundant, and his reward was great. Beloved by all, and useful to many, he passed his days in more comfort and happiness,

than is usually enjoyed by those who are placed in more public situations.*

His strain of preaching was practical and evangelical, though he frequently entered into a critical examination of his text, and in his expositions of Scripture, which made a considerable part of his public work, he displayed great learning, yet he was not content to leave the pulpit, till he had addressed the hearts and consciences of his hearers, which he did with great plainness and affection, frequently with many tears. His last sermon was uncommonly affectionate, and the concluding expressions peculiarly striking. Having exhorted his hearers to peace and unanimity, he concluded with these remarkable words, "May an attention be paid by all to these solemn counsels, that when my eyes are sealed up in death, you may continue happy and prosperous."

It was his earnest and frequent prayer, that he might not outlive the affections of his people, nor his usefulness among them. It is needless to say that his request was granted. On the following Tuesday he met his friends, as usual, in the vestry, and having translated a sermon from the French, he commended his flock to the care of Heaven: he passed the next day in perfect health, and, after the devotions of his family, retired to rest; he slept well, till about four o'clock in the morning, and then awoke, complaining of pain: but before any assistance could be afforded, he expired without a struggle or a groan, on the 27th of Nov. 1788, aged 73 years.

* It is remarkable, that during the space of 49 years, he was not once prevented from the exercise of his ministry on Sunday, and afterward only for a single day during the rest of his life.

A

SHORT SPECIMEN

OF THE ADVANTAGE THAT MAY BE DERIVED FROM BOOKS OF

TRAVELS INTO THE EAST,

FOR ILLUSTRATING THE GREEK AND ROMAN CLASSICS, AS ALSO JOSEPHUS AND JEROM.

OBSERVATION I.

MANNER IN WHICH THE BODY WAS PREPARED FOR INTERMENT.

MAILLET, in his account of themanner of preparing the body for interment in Egypt,* in these later days, after having told us, that the embalming of antiquity is no longer in use there, informs us, however, that something very similar to it is still practised at times in that country, particularly with regard to rich persons. "When such sort of people are dead, they wash the body several times with rosewater; they afterward perfume it with incense, with aloes, and a quantity of other odoriferous substances, of which they are not at all sparing; and they are careful to stop its natural apertures with perfumed cotton."

This repeated washing of the body with a very odoriferous liquid, for the Egyptian rosewater is much more fragrant than our's, seems evidently to be made use of to make the scent more rich and lasting; as is the adding other rich perfumes to the rosewater, and that in considerable quantities.

It is, in like manner, of a double anointing of the bones of Patroclus, by order of Achilles, that we are, I should

* Lett. 10, p. 88.

imagine, to understand a passage of the Iliad, which is thus translated in Po pe's Homer:

> "These,* wrapt in *double cauls of fat*, prepare ;
> And in the golden vase dispose with care ;
> There let them rest, with decent honor laid,
> 'Till I shall follow to the infernal shade.
> Meantime erect the tomb with pious hands,
> A common structure on the humble sands ;
> Hereafter Greece some nobler work may raise,
> And late posterity record our praise."†

I cannot conceive that the fat was designed for any other purpose than to render the bones more *fragrant*, and as they, as it is well known, afterward were wont to *perfume* them, it is natural to imagine, this fat substance might be intended to convey some fragrancy to the bones. Homer represents the body of Hector, in this same 23d Iliad, as anointed with roseoil: by one of their deities indeed; but this shows, however, that he was not a stranger to the method of communicating fragrancy to unctuous matters, by infusing sweetscented herbs or flowers in them. Nor was it an operation of such difficulty, as to require the interposition of a deity. The wrapping them in cauls of fat would, on the contrary, have soon rendered them nauseous and disgustful, to a very high degree; and it was foreknown, according to Homer, that the bones of Achilles were, in a little time, to be mingled with those of Patroclus: consequently, when these last mentioned bones would be found enveloped in a substance, according to this translation, in a state of great putrefaction. Nor can it be well conceived why just *two cauls* should be made use of, if they were the cauls of the animals, whose other parts were burnt in the funeral pile. But if we suppose, that oil, or animal fat, was so prepared as to make an odoriferous *ointment;* and the bones to

* The bones.

† Και τα μεν εν χρυσεη φιαλη και διπλακι Δημω
Θειομεν, &c. Il. xxiii. 243, &c.

have been *twice* anointed with one and the same ointment, as the modern Egyptians wash a dead body several times with rosewater; or anointed with *two* different sorts of ointment, as the Egyptians perfume a dead body with incense, and aloes, &c. as well as with rosewater, mingling their different odours together: in either case Homer might represent Achilles, as directing that a *double coating* of an unctuous nature might be given to the bones of his friend, that they might be more richly scented, and the perfume remain the longer; and this double coating may very well be understood, in the language of poetry, to have been termed cauls, covering those bones as cauls of fat do the bowels. But it is hard to make out to what end a double portion of mere melted fat should be put into the urn, supposing it so purified, as to be in a manner incorruptible, if unmingled with matters of an aromatic kind. Cauls, however, which Pope mentions, are very different things from fat purified with care, and are, I apprehend, liable to great putrefaction in a little time.*

And now I am writing upon this subject, and having shown, in another part of this work, that the people of the East express their respect to bones long interred, by mixing them with odoriferous matters, I should apprehend, that since the Jews were wont to bury their dead with spices, when untouched by fire; so when they used fire to destroy the flesh, which might sometimes happen, particularly in the case of Saul, and respect was afterward paid to such bones,† I should think it natural to believe, they somehow perfumed them. At least, that if the men of Jabesh Gilead did not pay that respect to king Saul, David his successor did, when he translated his bones from Gilead to the land of Benjamin,‡ along with the bones of Jonathan, dear to David as Patroclus to Achilles. The dying of those whose bones were buried

* The precautions prescribed by Dioscorides, lib. 2, cap. 88, &c. to prepare animal fat for keeping for medical purposes, sufficiently show this.

† 1 Sam. xxxi. 12, 13.

‡ 2 Sam. xxi. 12, 13, 14.

along with the bones of Saul and Jonathan was highly disgraceful, for "cursed was every one that was hanged on a tree;" but it was expiatory, and after the atonement was made, it might not be improper to pay some honor to these victims; their being buried in the sepulchre of Kish seems to have been intended as an honor, as well as the translation of the bones of Saul and Jonathan; if it was, it is by no means unnatural to suppose they were buried with perfumes, liquid or dry, since as the custom of the Jews was so to bury in the time of our Lord, so sacred history informs us, it was practised by them as early as the days of king Asa, 2 Chron. xvi. 13, 14, in the fourth generation from David, nor can we well suppose that this was the first beginning of the practice, which obtained among the Jews, of applying perfumes to the dead.

OBSERVATION II.

OF SLEEPING IN THE PORCH OF THE TENT.

As it is more than possible that some readers may find it difficult to comprehend, how sleeping in the porch of a tent should be more safe, for its concealment from the eyes of visitors, than sleeping in the tent itself; I have thought that the transcribing the Baron de Tott's account, of the tent of the cham of the Crim Tartars, whom he attended in one of his expeditions, might serve for a good note on that passage of the 24th Iliad, in which Achilles directs where king Priam should sleep, in order to be more secure from discovery, after Achilles had agreed to accept a ransom for the body of Hector.

"With that, Achilles bad prepare the bed,
With purple soft, and shaggy carpets spread;
Forth, by the flaming lights they bend their way,
And place the couches, and the coverings lay.
Then he: Now father sleep, but sleep not here,
Consult thy safety, and forgive my fear,
Lest any Argive, at this hour awake,

To ask our counsel, or our orders take,
Approaching sudden to our open tent,
Perchance behold thee, and our grace prevent:
Should such report thy honor'd person here,
The king of men the ransom might defer.
Then gave his hand at parting, to prevent
The old man's fears, and turn'd within the tent
Where fair Briseis, bright in blooming charms,
Expects her hero with desiring arms.
But *in the porch* the king * and herald rest,
Sad dreams of care yet wand'ring in their breast."

The Baron's account of the tent of the prince of the Crim Tartars follows.

"A light paling, which easily can be packed and unpacked, forms a little circular wall of four feet and a half high. Its two extremities kept near three quarters of a yard distant, make the entrance into the tent. A score of small rods, which join at the upper ends, and at the lower have a leathern ring, by which they hook to the paling, form the dome, and sustain the roof; which consists of a cowl, or covering of felt, that descends, and spreads over the walls, which are lined also with the same stuff. A girdle includes the whole, and some earth, or snow, thrown up round the bottom of the tent, prevents the air from penetrating, and makes it perfectly solid without mast or cordage. Others, of a nicer construction, have the cones circularly open at the top, which apertures give passage to the smoke, permit fires to be lighted in the tents, and render them inaccessible to the intemperance of the most rigorous climate.

"The tent of the cham was of this kind, but so large, that more than sixty people might commodiously sit round a wood fire. It was lined with crimson stuff, furnished with some cushions, and had a circular carpet. Twelve small tents, placed round that of a prince, for the use of his officers and pages, were comprised within a circumference of felt five feet high."†

* Priam.

† Memoirs, part ii. p. 153, 154.

The Tartar princely tent is designed for a guard against very severe cold, which was extremely sharp when de Tott attended the cham; the tent of Achilles was designed for a much more temperate climate. This last was also not intended to be frequently moved. These two circumstances undoubtedly occasioned some variations: the tent of Achilles appears to have been more solidly constructed, without a covering of felt, but its roof thatched, and probably no fire kindled within the royal apartment. But it should seem, in other respects, there was a great resemblance. The οικος, into which Priam straight went, answered the cham's apartment, which would hold sixty people. Both were surrounded with a paling of considerable extent; and that of the Greek much the most solid. Both had a number of small distinct apartments for the use of the attendants: those that slept in them, were said by Homer to sleep εν Προδρομω δομω, which Pope has rendered the *porch*. They were called Αιθουσαι, which expresses their *warmth*, whether in contradistinction from the situation of those that slept in the open air, but within the enclosure, as many of them did, or from some other cause, we need not inquire. The fire for cooking, probably in the open air, in the enclosure. Understood after this manner, the account in the original Greek is sufficiently plain.

Nor is it only after this manner that the late cham of Tartary had his own private tent formed, with its appurtenances; but Thevenot gives us a similar account, of the manner in which the bashaw of Egypt was encamped, when he was leaving his government;* and, what is more, Egmont and Heyman saw the Grand Signior encamped, in much the same manner in general, though with more magnificence, on the shore of that very country where Achilles had his tent placed, and not very far distant from the spot. "Behind his tent was another, but

* Trav. in the Levant, part i. p. 148.

very small, serving as a retreat,* and at a small distance from it were four others, being, as it were, the bed chambers of the Grand Signior and his sons."†

OBSERVATION III.

ON THE MEANING OF THE EXPRESSION, TALKING ABOUT AN OAK OR A ROCK, USED BY HOMER.

HAVING, in another place, endeavoured to illustrate that passage in Ezekiel, in which mention is made of the *talking* of the Jewish people about that Prophet, *by the walls, and in the doors of their houses;* a very learned and ingenious friend has thought, the like considerations may serve to elucidate a passage in Homer, and has wished I would not forget it in the present work.

The passage he has pointed out, is in the 22d Iliad, and relates to the soliloquy of Hector, while waiting with apprehension, for the coming of Achilles, which, accordingly, terminated in Hector's death.‡ He deliberates whether he should meet him unarmed, and make proposals of restitution, &c. but concludes that such an attempt would be in vain.

There is some deviation here from the literal sense of the original, which has been thought considerably obscure, as appears by the following note on the third and fourth lines of the above citation. "The words are literally these, 'There is no talking with Achilles, from an oak, or from a rock, (or about an oak or a rock,) as a young man and maiden talk together. It is thought an

* Such an one might have served for the lodging of Briseis.

† Vol. i. ch. 16. p. 212, 213.

‡ "What hope of mercy from this vengeful foe,
But woman-like to fall, and fall without a blow?
We greet not here, as man conversing man,
Met at an oak, or journeying o'er a plain;
No season now for calm familiar talk,
Like youths and maidens in an evening walk."

POPE'S HOMER.

obscure passage, though I confess I am either too fond of my own application in the above cited verses, or they make it a very clear one. 'There is no conversing with this implacable enemy in the rage of battle; as when sauntering people talk at leisure to one another on the road, or when young men and women meet in a field.' I think the exposition of Eustathius more farfetched, though it be ingenious; and therefore I must do him the justice not to suppress it. 'It was a common practice,' says he, 'with the heathens, to expose such children as they either could not, or would not educate. The places where they deposited them, were usually in the cavities of rocks, or the hollow of oaks: these children being frequently found and preserved by strangers, were said to be the offspring of those oaks or rocks where they were found. This gave occasion to the poets to feign that men were born of oaks; and there was a famous fable too of Deucalion and Pyrrha's repairing mankind by casting stones behind them. It grew at last into a proverb, to signify idle tales; so that in the present passage it imports, that Achilles will not listen to such idle tales, as may pass with silly maids and fond lovers, &c."

He adds, "Eustathius's explanation may be corroborated by a parallel place in the Odyssey; where the poet says,

"Ου γαρ απο δρυος εσσι παλαιφατος, ουδ' απο πετρης."

The meaning of which passage is plainly this, 'Tell me of what race you are, for undoubtedly you had a father and a mother; you are not, according to the old story, descended from an oak or a rock.'

Here I would remark, that Hector was deliberating about a matter of the highest consequence to himself, his family, and his country, and could not naturally, I should think, be supposed to refer to such an idle tale. The explanation, however, by the celebrated modern translator, is neither distinct enough, nor does it seem to give us the exact thought. I should suppose Hector is not repre-

sented as referring to the sauntering conversation of lovers, with little or no meaning; but to the friendly intercourse of persons meeting under an oak or a rock, strangers to each other, but with the most benevolent intentions on both sides, and perhaps with mutual advantage and benefit.

Shade is in common sought for by Oriental travellers when they rest. They are wont to take their repasts, and often to sleep in it, when fatigued with the heat of the weather: and the shade of rocks and trees is mentioned on such occasions. So the fisherman, in whose barque Monsieur Doubdan and his companion were passengers, going to Tyre and Sidon, went ashore with them, between those two cities, in a place "where there was a very large and deep cavern, hollowed out of the rock by the agitation of the waves of the sea; there they cooked their fish; and there they found many Turks, Moors, and Arabs, people of all colours, of whom some were enjoying their repose and the fresh air on the sand, others were dressing their provisions among these rocks, others were smoaking tobacco, notwithstanding the danger, which was so apparent, by the falling of large masses of the rock from time to time: but they are wont frequently to assemble there, on account of a spring of exceeding good water in that place."*

So Dr. Richard Chandler, in his Travels in Greece, tells us, "a Turk is some times seen squatting on his hams, in the shade, by the door of his house; or in a group, looking on his horses feeding in the season on the green corn;"† and in a succeeding page, p. 62, he says, that "they repaired to a goatstand, where the peasants killed and roasted a kid for his supper, after which he laid down to sleep in the lee of an huge bare rock."‡

And as they not only sit in the entrances of their houses, but in the shade near their doors, and eat and sleep under rocks, so they eat and sleep under trees too that are thick and spreading. Dr. Chandler gives an ac-

* Voy. de la Terre Siante, p. 541, 542. † P. 161, 162. ‡ P. 162.

count, in the same volume, of taking his repast under an olive tree in full blossom:* in his eating of a roasted kid under a spreading vine,† in the neighbourhood of the place where Troy stood; of people's sheltering under plane trees after a scorching ride.‡ I do not recollect that Dr. Chandler mentions oaks, in particular, but as they choose those trees that are most shady, the thick oaks, as they are called in Scripture,§ must have been made use of, when they happened on them, as commonly as any tree. Homer himself mentions the taking a repast, by the harvest men of a prince, under an oak.¶ So the ancient Jews are represented as sitting under oaks, in their journeying.‖

Doubdan complains of his meeting with some incivility, from some of those that were assembled under the oaks between Tyre and Sidon; but if that was not more in apprehension, owing to his timidness, than in reality, it is certain that they are not wont to be unsociable, when they take their repose under the trees, and the rocks, but very willingly admit or join the company of other travellers. So Dr. Chandler tells us, in his Travels in Asia Minor, that some families that were sitting beneath some trees, by a rill of water, invited them to alight, and partake of their refreshments, saluting them when they met.** In another place he speaks of some Turks coming to them, and joining their company, one of whom desired some wine: when he took his turban from his head, kissed it, and laid it aside; and after drinking, replaced it with the same ceremony.††

Such intercourses were wont then to be friendly, and might not unfrequently be beneficial: by the intelligence they might communicate to one another; by an exchange of provisions, to the advantage of both; or by making

* P. 164. † Trav. in Asia Minor, p. 31.

‡ P. 21. § Ezek. vi. 13. ¶ Il. 18, 559.

‖ 1 Kings xiii. 14; to which may be added, Judges vi. 11.

** P. 250. †† P. 201.

some other agreements which might be useful to both parties. But Hector observes, that he could not expect to meet with Achilles in the like friendly manner, and to settle any such beneficial arrangements with him, as people often did that met under a rock, or some shady tree, to refresh themselves when heated with journeying.

The particle απο which is translated in this note *from* and *about:* from an oak and from a rock; or about an oak and about a rock; signifies, I should apprehend, *on account of*, or something of that kind: "There is no room to expect to talk with Achilles, in the like friendly manner as when people meet each other on account of some rock, or some tree, which they happen upon in travelling, whose shade invites them to repose themselves some time under them."*

The same reasons that induce travellers to take their refreshment, and to converse together under trees and rocks, must have induced the Grecian lovers to do the like, when they were allowed the liberty of freely conversing together, as it seems they were in the time of Homer, though such freedoms are not now allowed in Greece, any more than in the rest of the East. Accordingly, Dr. Shaw informs us, where the Eastern youths can take the liberty with the other sex, as they can with their concubines, they are wont to attend them with wine and music in the fields, where we are sure they sit not exposed to the sun, but in some place of shade; just as he says, in the next paragraph, that the Arab in those countries does nothing all the day long, but loiter at home, smoke his pipe, and repose himself under some neighbouring shade.†

* The preposition απο is used in this sense in the New Test. Matt. xiii. 44, ch. xviii. John xxi. 6, and elsewhere.

† P. 231. "There are several Turkish and Moorish youths, and no small part likewise of the unmarried soldiers, who attend their concubines, with wine and music, into the fields; or else make themselves merry at the tavern; a practice, indeed, expressly prohibited by their religion, but what the necessity of the times, and the uncontrolable passions of the transgressors, oblige these governments to dispense with."

OBSERVATION IV.

CRITICISM ON A REMARKABLE PASSAGE IN THE RUDENS OF PLAUTUS.

THOUGH a school boy might think there was no difficulty in translating the words of Sceparnio, in the beginning of the *Rudens* of Plautus, after having been told that the wind he refers to was a very violent one:

> "———Omnis de tecto deturbavit tegulas;
> Illustrioris fecit, fenestrasque indidit."*

So violent indeed the youth would say, "as that it forced off all the tiles from the roof: made the windows more lightsome, and even formed new ones:" yet one more knowing, and habituated to compare one thing with another, might have heard that the roofs of the Eastern houses are wont now to be flat, and used for walking upon, &c. were so in the days of Plautus, and long before his time;† and for that purpose are made of strong mortar, so prepared as quickly to assume the hardness of stone,‡ or other very firm and solid materials; I say, such a one might be surprised that Plautus should represent the covering of an Eastern house as blown off by the wind, and should even suppose it was formed of reeds:

> "Quin tu in paludem is, exsicasque *arundines*,
> Qui pertegamus villam, dum sudum'st?"§

There is however a passage in Irwin's Travels up the Red Sea, that perfectly removes the difficulty. It is that in which he describes the House in which he and his companions were lodged at Cosire. "One of the present subjects of our apprehension is, that the house we live in will not last our time, should the caravan meet with further delays. The rafters are of the date tree, and instead of plank or tiles, the floor is composed of *rushes*

* Act. i. l. v. 5, 6.

† 2. Sam. xi. 2. Neh. viii. 16, &c.

‡ Shaw's Travels, p. 206.

§ Act. i. 2. v. 34, 35.

laid close together. On this loose sand is placed, and over all the coarse mats of the country. Materials of this sort must have a wonderful elasticity in them; and every step we take is attended by an universal tremor of the house. Neither would a stranger imagine that we were better provided in regard to the roof. This is formed of nothing stronger than rushes, on which stones are heaped, to prevent their being scattered by the winds. But in this settled climate the native requires no defence, but against the rays of the sun; thunder and lightning being almost unknown to him; and even rain a very uncommon visitor. By the accounts of the inhabitants, no rain has fallen at Cosire for these three years past; nor does it ever exceed a shower or two, when it comes. Of this the structure of their remaining houses is an unquestionable proof; for being rebuilt with mud, and half thatched with rushes, one day of rain would mix them with their mother earth."*

Cosire was a seaport town in Upper Egypt, on the coast of the Red Sea; Plautus lays his scene on the seacoast of a country adjoining to Egypt, where it rains but seldom, though perhaps somewhat oftener than at Cosire. We may then reasonably believe that the house of Sceparnio's master, supposed to be a person indeed of some figure, but in a state of exile, and consequently affliction, was not much better, if at all more securely built, than that at Cosire in which they were lodged, which we are told was the best in the town, though little better than an English barn.†

If built after the manner of this house at Cosire, it is not surprising that the rushes, or reeds and stones which covered it,‡ should be blown off and scattered, and that it should become necessary to procure more. Being built too of mud, or clay, as Sceparnio describes it, it is

* P. 144. † P. 122.

‡ Tegulæ here not signifying *tiles* exclusively, but the things, whatever they were, that covered the house, which here were *reeds*, with something heavy to keep them down.

no wonder that not only the lattice work and shutters of the windows were blown down, and by that means made more lightsome; but that holes should be made too in the clay walls, which Sceparnio jocosely dignified with the appellation of windows. His master even compares them to the holes of a sieve.*

Though then Plautus painted with very strong and coarse colours, his representation of the effects of a violent storm of wind on a house in Cyrene, on the seashore, however ludicrous, is not at all unnatural, but perfectly conformable to the description of Irwin's hotel at Cosire.

The editor of the Dauphin edition takes no notice of this difficulty, arising from the mention of reeds in the case of an Eastern house, unless Patrick has curtailed his notes; and he makes the light thrown into the house to refer to the blowing off the tiles, or covering of the, roof,† instead of referring that expression to the carrying away of the shutters, or perhaps the lattice work from the windows, both of which, is very well known, are commonly used in the houses of those countries.

The *making the windows more lightsome* will appear in a still stronger point of view, if it should be supposed they were closed with some semitransparent substance. This supposition is by no means necessary, but might, possibly, be meant by Sceparnio. Thus Niebuhr, in the 2d tome of his voyages in the countries near Arabia, gives this account of the houses of Bombay, which he visited in his Eastern tour.‡ "There the English make use of glass in their windows; where there is no glass they use very thin shells, enchased in wood work, in rows, which make those apartments very obscure. However these windows are better in the time of rain, than lattices of wood or iron, or shutters, as the first do not entirely keep out the rain, and the last prevents the light entering into the apartments."

* Act. i. 2. v. 16.

† Illustrioris fecit; id est, fecit ædes clariores, dejectis tegulis.

‡ P. 3.

OBSERVATION V

CURIOUS ILLUSTRATION OF A PASSAGE IN TIBULLUS.

I HAD occasion, in a preceding volume, just to touch on the vats used in the East for making their cheese. I would here set down Dr. Shaw's account of them more distinctly, as affording a proper comment on a passage of Tibullus, of which the Doctor has taken no notice, though he has frequently referred to classic writers in other cases.

The passage of Tibullus is in the third elegy of his 2d book, ver. 15, &c.

"Ipse Deus solitus stabulis expellere vaccas,
Et potum fessas ducere fluminibus;
Et miscere novo docuisse *coagula* lacte,
Lacteus & mistis obriguisse liquor.
Tunc *fiscella levi detexta est vimine junci*,
Raraque per nexus est via facta sero."

Have any of the editors of Tibullus furnished so instructive a note on these lines, as the following paragraph from Dr. Shaw's Travels?* "Here the sheep and the goats contribute also to the dairies, particularly in the making of cheese. Instead of runnet, especially in the summer season, they turn the milk with the flowers of the great headed thistle, or wild artichoke: and putting the curds afterward into small *baskets* made with *rushes*, or with the dwarf palm, they bind them up close, and press them."

The cheese vats of Barbary, and that of Tibullus, seem to be perfectly the same; and Dr. Shaw at the same time shows, that the Roman poet has very properly used the plural, when he spoke of their way of coagulating milk, since they use a greater variety than our dairy women do, not only runnet, but the flowers of the wild artichoke, to which may be added churn-milk, which, according to de la Roque,† is used by the Bedouin Arabs.

* P. 168, quarto ed. † Voy. dans la Palestine, p. 200.

OBSERVATION VI.

OF THE MURRINE CUPS USED BY THE ANCIENTS.

THERE was a sort of cups used by the ancient Romans called *murrine*, which were reckoned extremely precious by them: so much so, that the modesty of Augustus was rendered indisputable, according to Suetonius,* by his retaining only one murrine cup at the taking Alexandria in Egypt, of all the royal utensils there, and his soon after melting down all the vessels of gold, even those of most common use.

The editor of the Dauphin edition of Suetonius, has given us a note of considerable length upon this passage. In it he tells us, that Pliny believed the murra, out of which these cups were formed, was a stone, which he ranked among the other precious stones: that Seneca and Martial seem to have been of the same opinion: but that Joseph Scaliger was induced, by a passage of Propertius, to believe that the murra was the matter of which our porcelain vessels are formed. The doubt seems to remain still in the minds of the learned, who appear to be rather inclined to the notion entertained by Pliny: for Ainsworth, in his very accurate Dictionary, explains the word murra in these terms: "A stone of divers colours, clear as crystal, of which they made cups to drink in, or, as some, porcelain dishes."

The passage in Propertius, which led Scaliger to believe porcelain was meant, is as follows:

> "Seu quæ palmiferæ mittunt venalia Thebæ
> Murrheàque in Parthis pocula cocta focis."
> Lib. iv. El. 5. v. 25, 26.

Four things are evidently supposed by Propertius in the last line; 1. that these murrine vessels were *earthenware*, or the production of the *pottery*; 2. that they were extremely precious; 3. that this valuable matter was

* Augustus, sect. 71.

generally, if not always, so far as he knew, formed into cups; and 4. that he believed them to have been made in Parthia.

One thing that may have inclined many of the learned to suppose these murrine cups were not porcelain, may have been, its being much more commonly called china, or china ware: being sensible that the knowledge that the Romans had of the remote countries of the East did not reach to China, or near that country; and supposing that, until very lately, the art of making porcelain was no where known but in the Chinese empire.

Propertius however supposes, these murrine cups were made by the potters of Parthia. Sir John Chardin has informed us accordingly, that very fine porcelain was made in Persia, in the last century; and, as he elsewhere tells us, the Persians are not very ready at adopting modern arts,* we have reason to believe this was an ancient manufacture among them; and from this passage of Propertius, we may believe it was as old, at least, as the time of Augustus.

The account this eminent traveller has given us of the Persian porcelain, is in the 2d tome of his Travels in French, p. 80 and 81, and is to this purpose. "Enamelled vessels, or porcelain, is one of their most beautiful manufactures. It is not confined to one particular part of Persia. The most beautiful of their porcelain is made at Shiras, the capital of that province, which is distinguished from the other provinces of that country by the name of Persia, properly so called; at Metched, the capital of Bactriana; at Yesd, and at Kirman, in Caramania; and in particular in a town of Caramania called Zorende. The earth, of which these vessels are made, is a pure enamel, within as well as without, like the Chinese porcelain. Its grain is as fine, and it is as transparent: so that of Persia, oftentimes, cannot be distinguished from that of China. That of Persia even sometimes excels the Chinese porcelain, its varnish is so exquisite. This, however, is to be understood not of the old China, but the

* Voyages, tome 2, chap. 17.

new. In the year 1666, an ambassador of the Dutch East India Company, having brought many things of value, to present to the Persian court, and among the rest fiftysix pieces of old Chinese porcelain, when the King saw them he fell a laughing, asking with an air of contempt what they were. It is said that the Dutch frequently mix this Persian porcelain with that of China in what they send to Holland. . Able workmen, in this manufactory, attribute the beauty of the colours, in this kind of ware, to the water that is made use of, some kinds of water making the paint run, while others do not produce such an effect. . The Persian porcelain resists fire, so as not only to admit the making water to boil in it, but vessels for boiling are made of it. It is so hard, that mortars are made of it for grinding colours, and pounding other things, and moulds for making bullets. The materials of which this beautiful porcelain is made, are glass and small pebbles, found in rivers, ground very small, with a little mixture of earth.

"Porcelain is not made in the Indies. What is consumed there is all imported, either from Persia, or Japan, or China, and the other kingdoms between China and Pegu."

He adds to the account a story that is current in Persia, and which, if true, is a strong proof of the abilities of the potters of that country. It seems it was said there, "that the potters of the city of Yesd, in Caramania, sent one day to the potters of Ispahan, as it were in defiance, a porcelain vessel, which would hold a dozen pounds, or pints, of water, and weighed only the eighth part of an ounce."

Parthia and Persia mean the same, or nearly the same empire; they then that read this account of Chardin, will not wonder, that precious vessels of this kind should be brought to Egypt, and known among the Romans; and will see that Pliny was not misinformed, when he describes these vessels as brought from Caramania, for though this ware is made now in other parts of that em-

pire, yet most of the towns he distinctly mentions are in Caramania, and the most curious workmen in that manufactory, it seems, reside there still.

How Pliny came to be less acquainted with the nature of that substance, of which these precious vessels were formed, than an elder writer, at the same time a poet, who only mentions them occasionally, while Pliny was a professed naturalist, whose business it was to inquire curiously into matters of this sort, is extremely astonishing; and does no honor to his care, in making inquiries concerning those matters about which he wrote.

The Dauphin editor of Suetonius, seems to have been as unacquainted with any manufactory of this kind in the East now, excepting in China, as Pliny himself.

We may, however, justly suppose, I apprehend, that these pieces of ancient Parthian porcelain were not beautified, as now, with curious paintings, representing flowers, human figures, landscapes, &c. for then Pliny could hardly have supposed these cups were made of natural stone; no, though he might have seen those Mocha stones, in which such curious ramifications, and odd figures appear, as sometimes seem to resemble landscapes, porcelain, like that of our times, must have appeared, to him, to have been artificial.

It should seem then, that their beauty consisted in the liveliness of the respective colours that appeared in each cup, like those of our coloured vessels of glass; or, at most, in the curious streaks of two different colours in one and the same cup, as there appear strata, or veins, of different colours in the onyx, black, or brown and white.

On account of which likeness, perhaps it is, that Propertius elsewhere calls the onyx murrine,

"Et crocino nares murrheus ungat onyx."*

* Lib. 3, El. 10, v. 22.

OBSERVATION VII.

ON HORACE'S OPINION OF THE EXCELLENCE OF THE FLESH OF THOSE GOATS WHICH WERE FED ON VINES.

HORACE supposes the flesh of goats, fed upon vines, was the most delicious of any of that kind of food:

"*Vinea* submittit capreas non semper edules."
Sat. lib. ii. sat. 4, v. 43.

"The *vine-fed* goats not always luscious fare."
FRANCIS.

The Dauphin commentator only cites a passage here from Virgil, in which he speaks of the fondness of goats, sheep, neat cattle, &c. for the leaves and young shoots of vines, which were therefore to be carefully fenced about. But such short stolen repasts could not be supposed to make any great alteration in the flavour of their flesh, or to occasion their being chosen for slaughter on that account.

A passage from Dr. Richard Chandler's Travels, in the Lesser Asia, would furnish a much better note on this line of Horace, in which he speaks, with some surprise, of his finding some vineyards still green, in the beginning of October, belonging to a town situated on a hill between Aissaluck and Scala Nova; whereas he informs us, about Smyrna, the leaves were decayed, or stripped by the camels and herds of goats, which are admitted to browse upon them after the vintage.*

The vineyards then, it seems, are the intended pastures for goats in autumn, and might be supposed to afford a sort of food that made their flesh more delicious than the common herbage of the fields, but this method of fattening them does not, it seems, always answer.

* P. 142.

OBSERVATION VIII.

ON THE GREASY WATER MENTIONED BY HORACE, SAT. LIB. 2, VER. 68, 69.

THE *greasy water*, mentioned by Horace in the second satire of his second book,* as given by Nævius, a man of the most parsimonious turn, to his guests, has not been well explained by commentators, but is capable of a clear explanation from books of travels.

The editor of the Dauphin edition explains this *unctam aquam*, of water that was muddy, or mixed with something filthy when taken up; but it is probable, that it rather refers to an oiliness, that the water contracted, from its being brought in foul leathern bottles.

The Persians, according to Sir John Chardin, use leather bottles, and find them of service to keep water fresh, especially if people are careful to moisten them, when they travel wherever they meet with water. To this he adds, "that the water does not taste of the leather, for that they take that off, by causing it to imbibe rosewater, when it is new, and before they make use of any of these vessels. And that formerly the Persians, according to report, when they journied, perfumed these leather vessels, in which they carried their water, with mastic, or with incense."

But though the polite Persians take such care of their water vessels, all in the East are not so exact now; and we may believe, therefore, all among the old Romans were not so very careful. Irwin, I remember, complains of some water, which was fetched for him from the mountains near Cosire, in the Upper Egypt, and on the shore of the Red Sea, and which water was esteemed better than that drank in common, by the people of that town,

* ——— Nec sic ut simplex Nævius, *unctam*
Convivis præbebit *aquam*. Vitium hoc quoque magnum. V. 68, 69.

from a spring that was nearer them; but this water, fetched from the mountains, he complains had an *oily* disagreeable taste, from the skins having been newly soaked in this disgustful liquid, to prevent their leaking. In the succeeding page he observes, that the Arabs, whose business it is to keep the skins in order, are too lazy to attend to the cleanliness of the insides of them.

That the ancient Romans were acquainted with goat skin bottles, is evident from two lines of Virgil,*

> "---------- Inter pocula læti
> Mollibus in pratis unctos saliere per *utres*."

The circumstances clearly determine, that they were leather bottles, which were oiled on the outside, to make them more slippery, and more likely to cause those to fall that hopped upon them. Whether these were in general use among the old Romans, or the use of them confined to their peasantry, we need not stay to inquire.

The same reason that makes it necessary to oil these water vessels, among the Arabs, from time to time, must in some degree have obliged the Romans to make use of the same remedy; which the parsimonious Nævius might as little attend to, as the people of Cosire. This clearly explains the meaning of the word *unctam*.

The usefulness of applying Eastern customs to the Classics, as well as the Scriptures, is sufficiently proved by a slip of this very ingenious translator of Horace, who gives us this note on a passage of the second epistle of his second book: "the ancients carry their money in a purse tied to their girdles, from whence we find in Plautus, *Sector Zonarius*, a cut purse:" whereas, according to Dr. Shaw, the present purses, in the Levant, are not tied to their girdles, but a part of the girdle itself: "they are made to fold several times about the body; one end of which being made to double back, and sewn along its edges, serves them for a purse, agreeable to the accepta-

* Geor. ii. v. 383, 384.

tion of the ζωνὴν in the Scriptures."* He might have added, and of the Roman writers.

OBSERVATION IX.

A CURIOUS ILLUSTRATION OF A PASSAGE IN PERSIUS.

OBSERVATIONS made by travellers into the East, may be thought to place a remarkable passage of Persius in a better light, than has been done by all the notes upon it, in the Variorum edition of that writer.

The passage I refer to is in the 5th satire of Persius:

> ". . . . . At cum
> Herodis venere *dies*, unctaque fenestra
> *Dispositæ* pinguem nebulam vomuere *lucernæ*,
> Portantes *violas*; rubrumque amplexa catinum
> Cauda natat thynni; tumet alba fidelia vino:
> Labra moves *tacitus*, recutitaque sabbata *palles*."
> Ver. 179—184.

The first remark I would make is, that as the lighting up of many lamps is frequent in those countries, in times of great rejoicing, so among the Jews it seems to have been done with such profusion, when they celebrated the feast of the dedication of the altar, of which we read in the gospel of St. John, ch. x. 22, that from thence it should seem to have derived its distinguishing appellation, being called φωτα, or the *feast of lights*.

That feast of dedication mentioned by St. John, or the solemnity called φωτα, was observed in consequence of an appointment of Judas the Maccabee and of the body of the Jews at that time, of which we have an account in 1 Mac. iv. 59. *Moreover, Judas and his brethren, with the whole congregation of Israel, ordained that the days of the dedication of the altar should be kept in their season from year to year, by the space of eight days, from the five and twentieth day of the month Casleu, with mirth and gladness.*

* P. 227.

Josephus, indeed,* when he gives an account of this festival, and tells us it was called φωτα, would suppose it derived its name from the darkness of affliction's being turned into joy.† But this is considered as an unnatural refinement by the learned; more especially as it is well known, and appears by the Talmud, that through the eight days of this solemnity many lights were wont to be set up in or about their houses.‡ From whence it was natural to denominate the festival φωτα, *lights*, in the plural; whereas, if the explanation of Josephus had been just, it should rather have been called φως, *light*, in the singular.§

2. This festival of the Jews, distinguished from others among them by the name of the *feast of lights*, and therefore it is to be supposed, by much the most remarkable for its illuminations, was observed in the latter end of the month Casleu, which answers to the first part of our December, and by their intercalations might be considerably later, which, in that country, is not too early for violets, which Juvenal supposes were used as an additional ornament. For Dr. Russell, speaking of Aleppo, which lies more to the north than Jerusalem; and, as I have elsewhere shown, its productions not earlier, tells us, that the severity of the winter there lasts but forty days, which they call Maarbanie, beginning from the 12th of December, and ending the 20th of January. Narcissusses, he adds, are in flower during the whole of this weather, and hyacinths and violets, at the latest, appear before it is quite over.¶

Their lamps, then, at the feast of Dedication, though it was celebrated in the depth of winter, might, at Jerusalem, be adorned with violets; though I should apprehend the violet makes not its appearance about Rome until some weeks after, in which country Persius wrote.

* Antiq. Jud. lib. 12, cap. 7, § 7, Ed. Havere.

† Vide not. in loc. ‡ Vide not. in loc.

§ So on a similar occasion, when that mighty revolution happened in their favour in the time of Mordecai, it is said in the Septuagint, Τοις δ. Ιουδαιοις εγενετο ΦΩΣ και Ευφροσυνη.

¶ Vol. i. p. 69.

This then shows Persius is speaking of this Jewish feast as celebrated in Judea, not at Rome, nor in any place near to that city.

3. It is very possible, that the Maccabee festival of the Dedication of the Altar, and the commemorating the inauguration of Herod the Great, might be blended together, at the time to which Persius refers; nor are we without an instance of a similar nature, in later times, in the East.

Sir John Chardin tells us, "that the Persians observe only three religious seasons with great solemnity, and one civil festival, which is that of New Year's day. But if they observe but one, they do it very solemnly. The celebration of it holds three days, and in some places, particularly at court, eight, beginning exactly at that point of time that the sun enters Aries. They call this festival *Noorooz Sultany*, that is, the *Royal* or *Imperial New Year*, distinguishing it from their ecclesiastical New Year's day. The ancient Persians observed very solemnly the days when the sun came to each of the two solstices, and two equinoxes; but more particularly that of the spring equinox, because of its bringing on pleasant weather. The festival held eight days. Its observance continued until the time that the Mohammedans became masters of Persia, who introducing a new epocha, and a new way of computing time, the ancient custom of solemnizing the first day of the year sensibly declined, and at length totally ceased: people being disinclined to the observation, from a dislike to the old religion of the country, which they supposed made a religious festival of the first day of the year, in honor of the Sun, which appeared therefore an idolatrous practice to the followers of Mohammed, who abhorred all sorts of rejoicing therefore on that day. Things remained in this state till the year 175,* when Jelaleddin† coming to the crown on the day

* Of the Mohammedan computation, and about the year of our Lord 1082.

† D'Herbelot would have called him Galaleddin. Bib. Orientale. art. Neurouz.

of the vernal equinox, the astronomers of the country took that occasion to represent to him, that it was an interposition of Providence, directing that his coming to empire should happen on the first day of the year, according to the ancient form of computation, that so he might re-establish a custom that had been observed for many ages in that country. The astronomers added, that if he should re-establish this festival of the Solar New Year's day, it would be something particular, as according to an ancient custom of the Persians, who reckoned the years by the reign of their kings, the beginning of his reign would be the first day of the solar year. This prince was pleased with the proposal, and re-established the ancient festival of the Royal New Year's day, which has been solemnized ever since with pomp and acclamations.*

Here we see, the coinciding of the time of a prince's coming to the crown with a remarkable day in the year, was sufficient not merely to add great splendour to an old observance, but to revive it after it had been quite extinguished, and give it a permanent establishment. In like manner, if the day in which the Romans conferred royalty on Herod, and settled it so that it long continued in his family, happened at the time that the Jews celebrated their Feast of Lights, it is no wonder that in the time of Persius, the illuminations in Judea, and particularly at Jerusalem, were of the most splendid kind. Herod affected, it is well known, great pomp, and engaged in great expenses, to make the nations round conceive a high notion of his magnificence. Accordingly, he obtained the surname of Great.

In this view, it can be no wonder, that Persius supposes, that many old Romans, who sat sunning themselves, and talking over the sights they had seen in their younger years, should mention, with rapture, the Jewish illuminations, at which they had been present, when travelling in Judea, or serving in the army there, for such seems to me to be the spirit of the passage:

* Voy. tome 1, p. 171, 172.

"———————— Nostra ut Floralia possint
Aprici meminisse *senes:* quid pulchrius? at cum
Herodis venere dies, ————————

* * * * * *

Labra moves *tacitus*, recutitaque sabbata *palles*."*

While one of those old gentlemen the poet speaks of was admiring the feasts of Flora, and saying what could be more beautiful; another reminded him of Herod's illuminations, when your lips, said he, *moved with silent admiration*, and you *were pale with astonishment*, at those festivals of the circumcised.

The commentators indeed understand this passage in a very different manner. Lubin supposes the noiseless motion of their lips, was upon the occasion of a silent offering up the prayers of superstition; and the learned Casaubon himself apprehends, the words mean the frequenting the Jewish Proseuchas, and their praying each by himself with a low voice. Can this be the meaning of Persius?

I do not know, that any of the learned have been able to determine precisely the day of Herod's inauguration, or the day when he was declared king of Judea; but, in general, it has been understood to have been in the winter time,† at which time the Feast of Lights was celebrated. They might then, very probably, coincide, as I have been supposing; and if they did, no one will wonder that this double festival was observed with the greatest splendour, in the time of such a prince as Herod.

The words may possibly signify nothing more than when the days came, in which the Jews, the subjects of Herod, were wont to rejoice with making illuminations; but certainly there will be found much greater energy in the words, if we consider them, as Casaubon has done, as signifying the days, as they annually returned, when Herod was made king of Judea, and which were celebrated from time to time, by his admirers, with great rejoic-

* Pers. Satyr. v. 178, &c.

† Vide Jos. Antiq. Jud. lib. 14, cap. 14, § 5, not. r. Ed. Haverc.

ing.* Some, we know, were so warmly attached to him as to be from thence called Herodians.

4. The manner in which these illuminations were made, and to which the word *dispositæ* in this passage refers, may be illustrated, probably, by the modern usages of the East.

Chardin informs us,† as to the "Persian illuminations, that the grand houses of a particular place at Ispahan, when illuminated, have a slender scaffolding of small poles, for the reception of small earthen lamps. The houses are quite covered with them, from the first story to the top. They are about six score to each arch. These lamps are so small as not to be minded, except by very exact observers; but when they are lighted they make the most brilliant illumination in the world, for these lamps, in all, are reckoned at 50,000. Abas the great was very fond of this pompous show, and often gave himself this pleasure."

In another place he speaks of their illuminations as made at the doors of their houses, and in their principal Bazars, or streets of shops.‡

Small earthen lamps, but in great numbers, are now made use of in Persia; and probably were used in the days of Herod. By means of slender frames of woodwork they are placed in an agreeable order; and the word *dispositæ* supposes that the Jews were curious too in placing their lamps.

Chardin gives no account of mixing verdure and flowers with the lamps; but we find, in de Tott's Memoirs, that the Feast of Tulips is held among the Turks in the night, and lamps and flowers mixed together then. In the Jewish festival they were violets that were mingled with the lamps, which fixes the time of year when that was celebrated.

* The word *dies*, in the plural, seems to show, it was not merely the day of Herod's being made king; but the rejoicing, on that account, might be blended with the solemnizing a festival of eight days.

† Voy. tome 3, p. 17. ‡ P. 140.

It may not be disagreeable, to transcribe de Tott's account of the Turkish Feasts of Tulips. "It is so called," he tells us in a note in p. 78, of his first tome, "because it consists in illuminating a garden, and this flower is what the Turks admire most." And in the text of the same page, he tells us, "that the garden of the Harem, is the place in which these nocturnal entertainments are given. Vases of every kind, filled with natural and artificial flowers, are brought for the occasion, and add to the splendour of an illumination caused by an infinite number of lanterns, coloured lamps, and wax candles, in glass tubes, reflected on every side by mirrors disposed for that purpose."

How pompous modern as well as ancient Eastern illuminations! Did the Roman Floralia excel them in magnificence? of which, it should seem from Persius, some of the older Romans were wont to boast.

OBSERVATION X.

OF THE EARTHENWARE BOATS, WHICH JUVENAL IS SUPPOSED TO ASCRIBE TO THE EGYPTIANS.

JUVENAL describes the boats of the Egyptians as if they were earthenware; and not one of the Variorum notes explains this, though it may be easily done from modern travellers.

> "Hac sævit rabie imbelle & inutile vulgus,
> Parvula *fictilibus* solitum dare vela *phaselis*,
> Et brevibus *pictæ* remis incumbere *testæ*."
>
> Sat. xv. ver. 126—128.

This is the description. The sum of the notes upon it is as follows: That the old scholiast tells us, such earthenware ships were used on the Nile. That Lubin cited Strabo, who remarked, that in the Delta,* navigation was so easy, that some used boats of baked earth.

* The lower part of Egypt.

He adds, in another note, that such were used in some of the other canals of Egypt: and that they are called *pictæ*, painted, because these boats of baked earth were marked with various colours.

Now all this appears very strange. That earthenware may be so made as to swim in water is easily apprehended: the experiment may be made at any tea table, by putting one of the cups into a basin of water. But that a boat, of a size to be of any use to the Egyptians, should be made of such materials, and commonly to be seen in the Delta, and other canals of Egypt, may appear incredible, since they may be of earth baked or burnt in the fire, which must be done with difficulty; and when effected, what a trifle would demolish them, and how unsafe must be such a navigation!

But all this is decyphered by modern travellers: for all that is meant, I presume, is, that sometimes the Egyptians make use of rafts, which are made to float, by empty vessels of earthenware fastened underneath them.

"In order to cross the Nile," Norden tells us,* "the inhabitants have recourse to the contrivance of a float, made of large earthen pitchers, tied close together, and covered with leaves of palm trees. The man that conducts it, has commonly in his mouth a cord, with which he fishes as he passes on." These are undoubtedly the Egyptian earthenware boats of Juvenal.

Egmont and Heyman saw some small floats, used by the Egyptian fishermen, which consisted of bundles of reeds, floated by calabashes.†

The sails of such floats, when they used any, must of course have been very small, as Juvenal describes them, perhaps nothing more than their garment spread out; and their oars being very short, used merely to paddle along,

* Trav. part 1, p. 81.

† Trav. vol. 2, p. 112. So, in like manner, Norden observed, on the 10th of December, a float of straw, supported by gourds, and governed by two men, as he has remarked in his Journal.

or steer the float, of which Norden observed one instance, in a float of straw, on which two men were sitting, and which was dragged across the Nile by a cow, he that sat behind steering with "a little oar," by means of which, at the same time, he kept the balance."* Indeed, the one and the other could be of no great use but in the main river, as these floats must owe their chief motion to the stream; the paddles might be useful in those canals where the water was stagnant.

The word pictæ, or painted, is not to be understood, I apprehend, as signifying their being beautified with a variety of colours; but means, I should suppose, their being rubbed with some substance that might fill up the pores, so much as to prevent the water's penetrating into the cavity of the pitchers, which, if it did in a considerable degree, might occasion the sinking of this kind of vessel, for the Egyptian earthenware is said to be very porous.

"The ewer, though made very clumsy, is one of the best pieces of earthenware that they have in Egypt: for all that art in this country, consists in making some vile pots or dishes; and as they do not know the use of varnish, they are, of consequence, incapable of making any work of that kind, that does not leak." This is Norden's account.† Consequently, some of them at least, particularly those of the lower tier, must have been rubbed over with some substance, of such a nature as to prevent the water's penetrating into the hollow of the pitchers, in any great degree.

I have read an account of the Eastern people's rubbing those great jars, in which they keep their wines with mutton suet,‡ and I should think, the word pictæ does not oblige us to suppose the lower pitchers in their floats, are rendered water tight, by means of a more beautiful and costly material. Though certainly they might, if

* Trav. part 2, p. 145. † Part 1, p. 82.

‡ Voy. Chardin, tome 2, p. 67.

they pleased, have made use of some of the same substance with which they painted their hieroglyphics, and with which Norden was so charmed. "This sort of painting has neither shade nor degradation. The figures are incrustated like the cyphers on the dial plates of watches, with this difference, that they cannot be detached. I must own, that this incrustated matter surpasses, in strength, all that I have seen of this kind. It is superior to the alfresco and the Mosaic work; and indeed it has the advantage of lasting a longer time. It is something surprising to see how gold, ultra marine, and divers other colours, have preserved their lustre to the present age. Perhaps I shall be asked, how all these lively colours could soften together; but I own it a question that I am unable to decide."*

To close, it may be proper to observe, that these floats are not constructed to pass up and down the Nile like boats, or properly designed to carry goods upon them, if they may sometimes occasionally be put a little to that use; it is only an easy way they have found out, of conveying their earthenware from Upper Egypt, where it is made, to the lower parts of that country, where, when they arrive at the designed place, the float is taken to pieces, and sold to the inhabitants.

OBSERVATION XI.

OF THE EAGLE WHICH APPEARED, ACCORDING TO SUETONIUS, IN THE ARMY OF THE EMPEROR VITELLIUS.

SUETONIUS tells us, in his life of the Emperor Vitellius, that a lucky omen presented itself to that part of his army that he sent forward before his own was ready to march: "An eagle on the sudden came flying on the

* Part 2, p. 75, 76.

right hand, and having wheeled round the ensigns, leisurely flew before them, along the way in which they were to march."*

The Baron de Tott gives an account† of something very much like this, which happened to himself, in his journey to Crim Tartary, though it was a different kind of bird. "Our conversation was frequently interrupted by a circumstance which would not deserve notice, had it not served as a means to establish me in the good opinion of the superstitious Tartars.

"Just as we arrived at the frontiers, and at the moment the escort came up with me, a stork, a kind of bird which feeds on serpents, builds its nest on the houses, and is revered by the Orientals as a species of *penates*, or household god, seemed, likewise to come and welcome me. It passed rapidly to the left, very near my carriage, flew round it, repassed to the right, then seemed to lead the way, alighted two hundred fathoms before the foremost horseman. As they came up it rose again, made the like tour, flew forward, and repeated this kind of manœuvre until we arrived at Kishela."‡

Events of this kind, though not incredible, nor prophetic, yet have something in them that cannot but engage attention. The Baron, who was by no means of a superstitious turn, as appears sufficiently by the account he gives of his visiting the Holy Land, could not but remark it as something extraordinary; the Tartars, according to him, considered it with superstition, as the old Romans would have done.

* Præmisso agmini lætum evenit auspicium; siquidem à parte dextra repente aquila advolavit; lustratisque signis, ingrossos viam sensim antecessit. Sect. 9.

† Mem. tome 2, p. 42, 43.

‡ The chief town of Bessarabia, to which the Baron was going.

OBSERVATION XII.

WARRIORS SLEPT IN THEIR TENTS, WITH A SPEAR STUCK IN THE GROUND AT THEIR HEAD.

I HAVE remarked in another part of this work, that as the carrying a long pike before a company of Arabs is a token that an Arab sheekh, or prince is there, so the fixing it near a person of authority points out his dignity; and that these circumstances may be applied to the illustration of some passages of Scripture; but here I would observe, that it is quite necessary to explain a passage of Josephus, united with some other considerations.

That celebrated historian, giving an account of David's entering the camp of Saul, when that prince and his people were fast asleep, informs us, that notwithstanding the opportunity he did no hurt to Saul, though he well knew where he slept, by the spear, which was fixed near him, and adds, that he suffered not Abishah to slay him then, though he would fain have done it.*

English readers,† I apprehend, generally suppose every man had his spear stuck into the ground, at his head; but Josephus supposes that circumstance distinguished the royal sleeping place from that of every body else, which it would not have done, if it had not been something peculiar to Saul, distinguishing him from his officers and people. It was, it should seem then, a customary distinction in the time Josephus; and he thought it also an usage as ancient as the time of Saul.

Perhaps too, this describing Saul as known by the spear stuck by him may intimate, that he slept with his face covered, being laid on the ground in the open air. Thus de la Roque describes the Bedouin Arabs of the Holy Land, though in general they live under tents, yet some-

* Antiq. lib. 6, cap. 13, § 9, Ed. Havere. † Of 1 Sam. xxvi. 7.

times, he says, they sleep in their clothes, in summer time, on the ground, only covering their body and face with their *aba*, or outer garment.*

Josephus then, in all probability, supposes this expedition was undertaken in the time of summer; and that Saul's face was muffled up, so as rather to be known by the spear, than by his countenance, in a night sufficiently light to have distinguished him, had he not been so covered.

It seems indeed to be the common practice of the Eastern people to sleep with their faces covered, according to Niebuhr, and he supposes Europeans would find the benefit of it, if they would adopt the same usage, the dews and some winds being found to be very hurtful.†

OBSERVATION XIII.

ILLUSTRATION OF A PASSAGE IN THE BOOK OF JUDGES, TAKEN FROM JOSEPHUS, AND DOUBDAN'S TRAVELS.

Our translation of the book of Judges, from the Hebrew, represents Zebul as saying to Gaal, upon his being alarmed at seeing troops of men making to him, *Thou seest the shadows of the mountains as if they were men*;‡ whereas, Josephus represents him as telling him, he mistook the shadow of the rocks for men.‖

A commentator might be at a loss to account for this change, that had not read Doubdan's representation of some part of the Holy Land, in which he tells us, that in those places there are many detached rocks scattered up and down, some growing out of the ground,§ and others are fragments, broken off from rocky precipices,¶ the shadow of which, it appears Josephus thought might be most naturally imagined to look like troops of men at a distance, rather than the shadow of the mountains.

* Voy. dans la Pal. chap. 12, p. 176. † Descript. de l'Arabie, p. 9.

‡ Ch. ix. 36. ‖ Antiq. lib. 5, cap. 7, sect. 4, Ed. Haver.

§ Voy. p. 98. ¶ Ibid. p. 455.

OBSERVATION XIV

OF THE CLOTHING OF THE WILD ARABS, FROM ST. JEROM.

In St. Jerom's History of the life of Malchus, we have an account of some particulars that are new, in the clothing of those wild Arabs, or Ishmaelites, as he terms them. They are said to be half naked; but, however, to have worn cloaks and broad coverings for their legs; "Seminudo corpore, pallia & latas caligas trahentes."

Cloaks, kept fast by a button, on the upper part of the breast, are still worn by the Arab horsemen, according both to the description and the copper plate de la Roque has given us of them.* This, he says, is properly their riding dress.†

The description de la Roque gives of the vestments is to this purpose: "Doubling a piece of cloth, they sew the edges together, as if they were going to make a sack, leaving a hole at each of the corners to put their arms through; that then they cut open the forepart, to put it on their shoulders, cutting away a round place for the neck; and this is properly the dress for wearing on horseback.

This is what de la Roque calls an *abas*, St. Jerom a *pallium*. But the account de la Roque gives of the covering of the feet, when they ride, does not so well agree with the term *latas caligas*, or broad caligas. The word *caliga* is used by St. Jerom, to express that covering for the feet which Christ forbad his disciples to wear,‡ when he sent them to preach the gospel in his lifetime, and which are opposed to sandals, Mark vi. 9; though St. Jerom, in the impetuosity of his zeal, supposes the apostles were to walk at times absolutely barefoot. These caligas then seem to mean *buskins*, or rather short boots,

* Voy. dans la Pal. p. 3, 4. † P. 208.

‡ Ad Eustochium, de Custodia Virg. tom. 1, p. 140.

designed to cover the feet so entirely, as to guard them, as well as the lower part of the leg, from injury from stones, thorns, &c. whereas, sandals consisted merely of soles at the bottom of the feet, fastened by leather thongs, which left the foot very much uncovered, and open to injuries. But what the term *broad* has to do with these boots, is very difficult to say.

It will not be improper, on this occasion, to give de la Roque's account of the Arab riding boots. "They never carry a sabre, but when they go out upon an expedition; they mount on horseback with small boots, of yellow morocco, without stockings, very light and sewed within, with which they can march on foot, and even run, without any penetration of water through them."*

As the motions of these Arabs are known to be very rapid, and their horses and every thing about them fitted for speed, there is the utmost difficulty in conceiving, for what reason they should make their boots so broad as to be one part of their description; at the same time we find, that they are now very small, and light. They are, however, still described as being of yellow leather, as a remarkable circumstance; it would be then, I should apprehend, as natural to suppose there is a corruption in the present reading, and that it ought to be *luteas, yellow,* instead of *latas, broad,* as to admit some guesses of the critics. Whether the traces of such a reading may be found in any of the manuscript copies of St. Jerom, I am not able to say: I have no opportunity of consulting them.†

* Voy. dans la Pal. p. 209.

† So Catullus describes Hymen, in his Epithalamium on the marriage of Julia and Manlius, as wearing *yellow shoes,* and makes use of the term *luteum* to describe that circumstance:

"Cinge tempora floribus
Suave-olentis amaraci:
Flammeum cape: lætus huc,
Huc veni, *niveo gerens*
Luteum pede soccum."

The colour of the leather of the shoes of the Roman nobility themselves was, in the time of Juvenal, *black* as with us, as appears from verses 191, 192, of his 7th satire:

"Felix, & sapiens, & *nobilis*, generosus
Adpositam *nigræ* lunam subtexit alutæ."

And though they might afterward use *red* leather, yet very probably those of the lower class did not, which must have made the colour of the Arab boots remarkable; sufficiently so to have this circumstance mentioned, in the description of the surprise Malchus was thrown into, when he saw them coming in so unusual a dress. For though the pallium or cloak was worn by other people, particularly by the philosophers, and after them by the Christians, it would seem not to have been worn commonly on horseback, since it is mentioned here, as something striking in the appearance of these Arabs.

The word *trahentes, drawing forward* what seems inclined to hang back, expresses, in a lively manner, the flying back of the *abas* of the Arab horsemen, and the position of their feet, held back while pursuing their prey with eagerness.

OBSERVATION XV.

OF THE MILLET BREAD USED IN THE EAST.

St. Jerom supposed, that millet was used, in the time of the prophet Ezekiel, for the food of the meanest sort of people, and for the fattening of cattle or fowls;* which shows, it was probably used for those purposes in Judea, in his time. It is certain it is now used there.

For we find millet continues to be sown in the Holy Land. Dr. Rauwolff found Indian millet, along with corn, and cotton, in the fruitful and well tilled fields about Rama.† Niebuhr complains of the bread made of millet by

* Millium rusticorum & agrestinum & altilium cibus est. Com. in Ezekielem, cap. 4.

† Ray's Travels, p. 229.

the Arabs, who, he tells us, eat scarcely any thing else but bad new made millet bread, kneaded with camel's milk, or with oil, with butter or fat. He found it so disagreeable and bad, that he would very willingly have exchanged it for barley bread; but those people, who are accustomed to it from their infancy, seem to eat it with pleasure; sometimes they even prefer it to bread made of wheat, which is too light for their stomachs.*

As for its use in fattening cattle, &c. Dr. Shaw tells us, that the inhabitants of Barbary very particularly cultivate "a white sort of millet called *drah*, which they prefer to barley in fattening their cattle. The sparrows, which in the open country build upon trees only, the linnets, goldfinches, and other little birds, are so fond of this grain, that when it grows ripe, they are obliged to watch it, and hinder them from settling upon it, by making all the day long, a perpetual screaming and noise."†

* Descript. de l'Arabie, p. 45. † Travels, p. 138.

A

SHORT SPECIMEN

OF THE

ADVANTAGE THAT MAY BE DERIVED

FROM

THE GREEK AND ROMAN CLASSICS,

FOR THE

EXPLANATION OF VARIOUS PASSAGES IN THE SACRED WRITINGS

OBSERVATION I.

HEROD'S JEALOUSY, MENTIONED MATT. II. 3, ACCOUNTED FOR BY QUOTATIONS FROM SUETONIUS AND TACITUS.

THE Greek and Roman Classics may not only be illustrated by Eastern customs and manners, but these Classics may in their turn illustrate matters of great importance in the Sacred Writings. The consternation into which Herod was thrown on the report of the Eastern Magi, as mentioned Matt. ii. 3, was probably occasioned by the agreement of their report with an opinion predominant in the East, and especially in Judea, that some great personage should soon appear, to whom universal empire should be given. The *Jews* of course expected this person in their promised *Messiah:* the *Romans* applied it to one of their *emperors*. Suetonius and Tacitus, both eminent Roman historians, mention this general persuasion. Their words are very remarkable. *Percrebuerat*, says Suetonius, *Oriente toto vetus & constans opinio, esse in fatis, ut eo tempore Judeâ profecti rerum potirentur. Id de Imperatore Romano quantum eventu posteà predictum patuit, Judæiad se trahentes, reballâ runt.* In vit. VESPAS.

"An ancient and settled persuasion prevailed throughout the East, that the Fates had decreed that some should come from Judea who should attain universal empire. This persuasion, which the event proved to respect the Roman emperor, the Jews applied to themselves, and therefore rebelled."

The words of Tacitus are nearly similar: *Pluribus persuasio inerat*, says he, *antiquis Sacerdotum literis contineri, eo ipso tempore fore ut valesceret Oriens, profectique Judææ rerum potirentur. Quæ ambages Vespasianum ac Titum prædixerant.*

"Many were persuaded that it was contained in the ancient books of the priests, that at that very time the East should prevail, and that some should proceed from Judea and possess the dominion. It was Vespasian and Titus that were predicted by these ambiguous prophecies."* The prevalence of this opinion at once accounts for the perturbation, jealousy, and cruelty of Herod.

OBSERVATION II.

THE PROPHECY RELATIVE TO JOHN BAPTIST, ISA. XL. 3, FULFILLED MATT. III. 3, ILLUSTRATED BY A QUOTATION FROM DIODORUS SICULUS.

THE description which Isaiah gives of the Harbinger of CHRIST, is as follows: *The voice of him that crieth in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the* LORD, *make straight in the desert a high way for our* GOD. *Every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low; and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough places plain*, ch. xl. 3, 4.

The idea here, is evidently taken from the practice of Eastern monarchs, who, whenever they entered upon an

* By the *ancient books of the Priests*, Tacitus probably meant, not the writings of the Jewish prophets, but the Sybilline oracles, so long famous in the Roman world.

expedition, or took a journey through a desert country, sent *Harbingers* before them to prepare all things for their reception; and *Pioneers* to open the passes, to level the ways, and to remove all impediments. The officers appointed to superintend such preparations, the Latins called *Stratores*.

The account given by Diodorus Siculus of the March of Semiramis into Media and Persia will give us a clear notion of the preparations of the way for a royal expedition. Μετα δε ταυτα επ' Εκβατανων την πορειαν ποιησαμενη, παρεγενετο προς ορος το Ζαρκαιον καλουμενον. κ. τ. λ. "From thence she marched toward Ecbatane, and came to the mountain called Zarkeum, which, extending many furlongs, and being full of *craggy precipices* and *deep hollows*, could not be passed without making a long circuitous route. Being desirous therefore of leaving an immortal monument of herself, as well as to make a shorter way, διοπερ τους τε κρημνους κατακοψασα, και τους κοιλους τοπους χωσασα, συντομον κ' πολυτελη κατεσκευασεν οδον, η μεχρι του νυν απ' εκεινης Σεμιραμιδος καλειται, she ordered the *precipices to be cut down*, and the *hollow places to be filled up with earth*, and at a great expense she made a plain open road, which to this day is called the *road of Semiramis*. Afterward she made a progress through Persia, and all her other dominions in Asia, and wherever she came πανταχου δε τα μεν ορη κ' τας απορρωγας πετρας διακοπτουσα, κατεσκευασεν οδους πολυτελεις. κ. τ. λ. she ordered the *mountains* and *craggy rocks to be cut down*, and at a vast expense, made the *ways level and plain*. On the other hand, in low or champaign places she *raised mounds*, on which she built monuments for her deceased generals; and sometimes *whole cities*. Many of these still remain, and are called the *works of Semiramis*." Diodor. *Bib. lib.* ii. p. 44, 47 Edit. Bipont. This account shows a beauty in the prophetic declaration, which must be lost to all readers who are not acquainted with the allusion.

OBSERVATION III.

MATT. VI. 7, ILLUSTRATED BY QUOTATIONS FROM SUIDAS AND TERENCE.

In teaching his disciples how to pray, our Lord cautions them against using vain repetitions like the heathen: μη βαττολογησετε, ωσπερ οι εθνικοι. Suidas explains this word by πολυλογια, "*much speaking*, and says, the original word came from one *Battus*, a very indifferent poet, who made very prolix hymns, in which the same idea frequently recurred." On this subject the late Mr. Wakefield has made the following judicious note: A frequent repetition of awful and striking words may often be the result of earnestness and fervour; see Dan. ix. 3—20, but *great length* of prayer, which will of course involve much sameness and idle repetition, naturally creates fatigue and carelessness in the worshipper; and seems to suppose ignorance or inattention in the Deity; a fault against which our Lord more particularly wishes to secure them, ver. 8. The heathens themselves, among whom the practice was frequent, sometimes saw the impropriety of it. Terence ridicules it in his *Heautontimoreumenos*, or Self-tormentor, thus:

> Ohe! jam desine Deos, uxor, gratulando *obtundere*
> Tuam esse inventam gnatam: nisi illos ex *tuo ingenio* judicas,
> Ut nihil credas *intelligere*, nisi idem dictum sit *centies*.

"Pray thee, wife, cease from *stunning* the gods with thanksgivings, because thy daughter is in safety; unless thou judgest of them from *thyself*, that they cannot *understand* a thing unless they are told of it a *hundred times*."

The Mohammedans are peculiarly remarkable for *vain repetitions* in their devotions. The following is the commencement of one of their prayers, in a form now before me:

يا الله يا الله يا الله يا الله يا رب يا رب يا رب يا رب
حي يا قيوم يا حي يا قيوم يا حي يا قيوم يا حي يا قيوم
يا بديع السموات و الارض يا ذا الجلال و الاكرام ——

O God! O God! O God! O God! O Lord! O Lord! O Lord! O Lord! O thou living! O thou immortal! O thou living! O thou immortal! O thou living! O thou immortal! O thou living! O thou immortal! O Creator of the heavens and the earth, &c.

Such praying, or *battologizing*, can neither comport with the seriousness of devotion, nor with the dignity of the Divine Nature.

OBSERVATION IV.

A BEAUTIFUL ILLUSTRATION OF MATT. XIII. 12, AND LUKE VIII. 18, TAKEN FROM DIFFERENT GREEK AND LATIN WRITERS.

PERHAPS few passages of Scripture have been so much misunderstood, and so often perverted, as that in Matt. xiii. 12. *For whosoever hath, to him shall be given: but whosoever hath not, from him shall be taken away, even that he hath.* The principal difficulty here is in the words *he that hath*, and he that *hath not;* or as the latter clause stands in Luke viii. 18, *what he seemeth to have.* That οσις εχει, *he who hath*, means the *rich man;* and οσις ουκ εχει, *who hath not*, means *the poor*, is well known to all those who have critically examined the New Testament, and are acquainted with the Greek writers. In 1 Cor. xi. 22, τους μη εχοντας those *who have not*, evidently means the POOR, as τους εχοντας those *who have*, means the RICH. It was an ancient law that, τους μεν εχοντας διδοναι τω βασιλει τιμης ενεκα, τοις δε μη εχουσι διδοναι τον βασιλεα, those who *have*, i.e. are *rich*, shall through respect, give gifts to the king; but those who *have not*, i.e. are *poor*,

shall receive from the king. Xenoph. Exped. Cyri. l. vii. So Euripedes in Phæniss. v. 408; κακον το μη εχειν it is a miserable thing *not to have*, i.e. to be poor.

Habeo, to have or possess, is used in the same sense in Roman Poets. Thus Virgil, georg. iv. v. 177.

——— innatus—amor urget *habendi*
Munere quamque suo.

The innate love of *having*, i.e. of *gain*, prompts each to discharge the duties of his office.

There is one example in Juvenal, Sat. iii. v. 208, 209, that expresses the whole of our LORD's meaning, and will illustrate both clauses of this apparently difficult verse.

NIL *habuit* Codrus: quis enim negat, et tamen illud
Perdidit infelix TOTUM NIL.

The sense of which is pretty well expressed by Mr. Dryden.

'Tis true, poor Codros *nothing* had to *boast*,
And yet poor Codros *all* that *nothing* lost.

Now what was that *nothing* which the Poet says Codros *had* and *lost?* The five preceding lines tell us:

Lectus erat Codro, Procula minor, urceoli sex,
Ornamentum abaci; necnon et parvulus infra
Cantharus, & recubans sub eodem marmore Chiron;
Jamque vetus græcos servabat cista libellos
Et divina Opici rodebant carmina mures.

He had *one little bed, six small pitchers*, the ornament of a *sideboard*, a small *jug*, or *tankard*, the *image* of a *Centaur*, and an *old chest*, with some *Greek books* in it, which the mice, for lack of better fare, consumed. This *nothing* he *had*, i.e. these few things constituted his all of earthly property; and all this *nothing* he *lost*, probably by endeavouring, in spite of his *destiny*, to be a *poet*. So, those who devote not the light and power which God has given, to the *purposes* for which he has granted these gifts, from them shall be taken away these unemployed or prostituted blessings.

But another difficulty presents itself in the parallel place, Luke viii. 18. *Whosoever* HATH NOT, *from him shall be taken even that which he* SEEMETH *to have.* Our LORD speaks here of the *improvement* of blessings received; and both εχειν, and *habere*, among the Greeks and Latins, signify not only to *have* and *possess*, but also to *use*, *improve*, and *profit* by. So he who is not a worker together with GOD, receives his Maker's blessings in vain, whether they be of a spiritual or temporal nature.

But what is implied in *seeming to have* a thing? It must be granted, 1. That to *seem* to have a thing, is only to have it in appearance, and not in reality: but what is possessed in *appearance* only, can only be lost in *appearance;* therefore, on the one side there is no *gain*, and on the other side no *loss*. On this ground the text speaks just nothing. 2. But it is evident that ο δοκει εχειν, which is rendered by our common version *what he seemeth to have*, is equivalent to ο εχει *what he hath*, in the parallel places, Mark iv. 25. Matt. xiii. 12, xxv. 29, and in Luke xix. 26. 3. It is evident these persons had *something* that might be taken away from them; for 1. the Word of GOD, the divine seed, was planted, in their hearts; and 2. it had already produced good effects, but they permitted the devil, the cares of the world, and the love of riches, &c. to destroy its produce. 4. The verb δοκειν is often an *expletive*. So Xenophon in Hellen. vi. οτι εδοκει πατρικος φιλος; "because he seemed to be, *was*, their father's friend." And in Œcon. "Among the cities that *seemed to be*, δοκουσαις, that *were*, at war." 5. It often *strengthens* the sense, and is used for this purpose by the very best of the Greek writers. *Ulpian*, in one of his notes on Demosthenes' Orations, Olinth. i. quoted by Bishop Pearse, says expressly, το δοκειν ου παντως επι αμφιβολου τατουσιν οι παλαιοι, αλλα πολλακις και επι του αληθευειν. "The word δοκειν is used by the ancients to express, not always only what is doubtful, but oftentimes what is true and certain." And this is manifestly its meaning in Matt. iii. 9, Luke xxii. 24, John v. 39, 1 Cor. vii. 40.

x. 12, xi. 16, Gal. ii. 9, Phil. iii. 4. The words in the text should therefore be translated, *from him shall be taken, even that which he hath, or assuredly hath.* It seems to have been a proverbial mode of speech which our LORD here adopts, the more forcibly to teach his disciples, that he who does not improve the *first* operations of grace, however small, is in danger of losing, not only all the possible product, but even the *principal* itself; for GOD delights to heap benefits on those who properly use them.

OBSERVATION V.

THE NATURE OF THE ROMAN CENSUS, REFERRED TO BY LUKE, ii. 1—5, FROM DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSENSIS.

THE Evangelist St. Luke in referring to the circumstances of our LORD's nativity, shows that it took place at the time when Augustus ordered a *census* to be made through the *whole Roman empire*, called in the text πασαν την οικουμενην, and the *census* or *enrolment* itself απογραφη.

The Roman census, was an institution of *Servius Tullius*, sixth king of Rome; and from the account given of it by Dionysius Halicarnassensis, we may at once see its nature.

"He ordered," says the historian, "all the citizens of Rome to register their estates according to their value in money; taking an oath in a form he prescribed, to deliver a faithful account, according to the best of their knowledge, specifying the names of their parents, their own age, the names of their wives and children, adding also what quarter of the city, or what town in the country they lived in." *Ant. Rom.* l. iv. c. 15, p. 212. *Edit.* Huds.

A Roman census appears to have consisted of two parts: 1. The account the people were obliged to give

in, of their names, quality, employments, wives, children, servants, and estates; and 2. The value set upon the estates by the censors, and the proportion in which they adjudged them to contribute to the defence and support of the state either in men or money, or both; and this seems to have been the design of the census, or enrolment mentioned in the text, which was almost similar to that made in England, by William the conqueror, and still extant in the work commonly called *Doom's day Book.*

OBSERVATION VI.

CASE OF THE DEMONIAC, MENTIONED LUKE IX. 39, ILLUSTRATED BY QUOTATIONS FROM HERODOTUS AND VIRGIL.

I SHALL not meddle with the controversy concerning the case of the demoniacs of the New Testament; but merely show that the sacred and profane writers believing the reality of the thing, use exactly the same language, and apply the same terms in precisely the same sense.

An afflicted father brings his wretched son to our blessed LORD; and thus in accosting him, describes the case of the child; *Master, I beseech thee look upon my son, for he is my only child; and lo, a spirit taketh him,* πνευμα λαμβανει αυτον, *and he suddenly crieth out: and it teareth him till he foameth again; and bruising him, hardly departeth from him.* Luke ix. 38, 39.

That the same form of speech is used by heathen writers, and the same effects described when they speak of supernatural influence, the following account from Herodotus will make sufficiently evident.

Speaking of *Scyles*, king of the Scythians, who having received a Grecian education, was more attached to the customs of the Greeks, than to those of his own countrymen, and who desired to be privately initiated into the Bacchic mysteries, he adds; "Now because the Scythians

reproach the Greeks on account of these Bacchanals, and say, that to imagine a god driving men into paroxysms of madness is not agreeable to reason; a certain Borysthenian, while the king was privately performing the ceremonies, went out and discovered the matter to the Scythian army, in these words: *Ye Scythians ridicule us because we celebrate the mysteries of Bacchus,* και ημεας ο θεος ΛΑΜΒΑΝΕΙ, *and the god possesseth us;* but νυν ουτος ο ΔΑΙΜΩΝ και τον υμετερον βασιλεα ΛΕΛΑΒΗΚΕ, και βακχευει, και υπο του θεου μαινεται, *now this same demon possesseth your king, and he performs the part of a Bacchanalian, and is filled with fury by the god.* *Herodot.* lib. vi. p. 250. *Edit. Gale.*

This passage is exceedingly remarkable. The very expressions which Luke uses, are used by Herodotus. A demon, δαιμων or spirit, is the agent in the Greek historian, and in the case mentioned in the text. In both cases it is said the demon *takes* or *possesses* the persons, and the very same word λαμβανει is used to express this circumstance in both historians. Both historians represent these possessions as real, by the effects produced in the persons: the heathen king rages with fury through the influence of the demon, called the god Bacchus; υπο του θεου μαινεται, the person in the text screams out κραζει, is greatly convulsed, and foams at the mouth, σπαραασσει αυτον μετα αφροου. The case in the sacred text was certainly a real possession, and therefore, when the Jews saw that by the superior power of CHRIST, the demon was expelled, εξεπλεσσοντο δε παντες επι τη μεγαλειοτητι του Θεου, they were all astonished at the MAJESTY OF GOD.

Virgil has left us a description of a demoniacal possession of this kind, which were doubtless frequent among demon worshippers, where the effects are nearly similar:

——— ait, deus, ecce, deus! cui talia fanti
Ante fores, subito non *voltus*, non *color unus*,
Non *comptæ* mansere *comæ*; sed *pectus anhelum*,
Et *rabie fera corda tument*: majorque videri,
Nec mortale sonans, *adflata est numine* quando
Jam *propiore Dei.* ENEID. vi. v. 46, &c.

At Phoebi nondum patiens immanis in antro
Bacchatur vates, magnum si pectore possit
Excussisse deum. Tanto majus *ille fatigat*
Os rabidum, fera corda domans, fingitque premendo.
Ibid. v. 77.

I feel the god, the rushing god! she cries;
While thus she spoke *enlarged her features* grew,
Her *colour changed*, her locks *dishevelled* flew,
The *heavenly tumult* reigns in every part,
Pants in her breast, and *swells* her rising heart;
Still *spreading to the sight*, the priestess *glow'd*,
And *heaved* impatient of the incumbent god.
Then, to her *inmost soul*, by Phœbus *fired*,
In more than human sounds she spoke inspired.
PITT.

Struggling in vain, impatient of her load,
And *labouring* underneath the ponderous god,
The more she strove to shake him from her breast,
With more, and far superior weight he press'd;
Commands his entrance, and without controul
Usurps her organs, and inspires her soul.
DRYDEN.

These are remarkable instances, and mutually reflect light on each other: the sacred history explaining the profane; and the profane illustrating the sacred.

OBSERVATION VII.

MATT. VII. 3, ILLUSTRATED BY A QUOTATION FROM HORACE.

IT were to be wished that all who read the following expostulation, would lay it deeply to heart; *Why beholdest thou the* MOTE *that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the* BEAM *that is in thine own eye?* Matt. vii. 3. There is a cutting question very similar to this of our Lord, proposed by a heathen.

Cum *tua* prævideas oculis *mala* lippus inunctis,
Cur in *amicorum vitiis* tam cernis *acutum*,
Quam aut aquila aut serpens Epidaurius?
Hor. Sat. Lib. i. Sat. 3. v. 25—27.

"When you can so readily overlook your own *wickedness*, why are you more clear sighted than the eagle or serpent of Epidaurus in spying out the *failings* of your friends?" This propensity of man to forget his own faults, and to look with the most criminal accuracy into those of his neighbour which he often magnifies, distorts and caricatures, is not only reprehended in the sacred Scriptures, but also by many of the Greek and Roman writers.

OBSERVATION VIII.

AN IMPORTANT SAYING OF OUR BLESSED LORD, MATT. X. 39, ILLUSTRATED BY A PASSAGE IN JUVENAL.

He that findeth his life shall lose it, Matt. x. 39, i.e. he who for the sake of his temporal interest, abandons his spiritual concerns, shall lose his soul; and he who in order to avoid martyrdom, abjures the pure religion of Christ, shall lose his soul, and perhaps his life too.

There is a fine piece nearly on this subject, in *Juvenal*, Sat. viii. 1, 80, which deserves to be recorded here:

——Ambiguæ si quando citabere testis
Incertæque rei, Phalaris licet imperet ut sis
Falsus et admoto dictet perjuria tauro,
Summum crede *nefas* ANIMAM præferre PUDORI
Et propter VITAM VIVENDI perdere causas.
And if a witness in a doubtful cause,
Where a brib'd judge means to elude the laws;
Though Phalaris's brazen bull were there,
And he would dictate what he'd have you swear,
Be not so profligate, but rather *choose*
To *guard* your *honor*, and *your life to lose*,
Rather than let your *virtue* be *betray'd*,
Virtue, the noble cause for which you're made.
DRYDEN.

OBSERVATION IX.

AN ILLUSTRATION OF THE TERM BOSOM USED BY LUKE VI. 38, WITH A CURIOUS STORY FROM HERODOTUS.

ALMOST all ancient nations and particularly those of the East, wore long, wide, and loose garments; and when about to carry any thing away that their hands could not contain, they used a fold in the bosom of their robe, nearly in the same way that women in England use their aprons. To this custom our LORD alludes when he says, Luke vi. 38, *Good Measure shall men give into your* BOSOM. The word κολπον, *bosom* or *lap*, frequently occurs in this sense in the best and purest Greek writers. The following example from Herodotus will at once both illustrate this use of the term, and show the extravagant and ridiculous nature of covetousness.

"When Crœsus had promised to *Alcmeon* as much gold as he could carry about his body at once; in order to improve the king's liberality to the best advantage, he put on a very wide tunic, ενδυς κιθονα μεγαν, leaving a great space in the *bosom*, κολπον βαθυν καταλιπομενος, and drew on the widest buskins he could procure. Being conducted into the treasury, he sat down upon a great heap of ingots, and having first stuffed the buskins round his legs with as much gold as they could contain, he afterward filled his whole *bosom*, κολπον παντα πλησαμενος, and loaded his hair with ingots, and put as many as it could contain into his mouth, and then waddled out of the treasury, dragging his heavy laden buskins along, having scarcely any thing remaining in his appearance indicative of the human form!" *Herodot.* Erato. p. 375. *Edit. Gale.*

OBSERVATION X.

A DIFFICULT PASSAGE IN THE GOSPEL OF ST. JOHN, EXPLAINED BY A QUOTATION FROM HERODOTUS.

HIM *hath God the Father sealed.* John vi. 2. This saying is difficult, and has been variously understood. Among the different explanations given of it, the following has certainly a right to show itself; and I hope it may do so without offending any, whatever his peculiar creed may be. Most christians believe that our blessed LORD laid down his life as an *atonement* for the sin of the world: and to this he seems to allude ver. 51, *and the bread that I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world;* and to this circumstance the saying above, *Him hath God the Father* SEALED, seems evidently to refer.

It certainly was a custom among nations contiguous to Judea, to *set a seal* upon the victim that was deemed proper for sacrifice. The following account of the method of providing *white bulls*, among the Egyptians, for sacrifices to the god Apis, *Herodot. Euterp.* p. 104, Edit. Gale. will cast some light on this subject. "If they find even *one black hair* on him, they deem him *unclean.* That they may know this with certainty, the priest appointed for this purpose, examines the whole animal both standing up and lying down; afterward he draws out his tongue to see by certain signs whether it be clean: and, lastly, looks on the hairs of his tail to see if they be all in their natural state. If, after this search, the animal is found *without blemish*, he signifies it by *binding a label to his horns*, then *applying wax*, SEALS it with his RING, και επειτα γην σημαντριδα επιπλασας, επιβαλλει τον δακτυλον, and the beast is led away: for to sacrifice one, not THUS *sealed*, is punished with death. ασημαντον δε θυσαντι θανατος η ζημιη επικειται. And these are the rites of this

sacrifice : αγαγοντες το σεσημασμενον κτενος. κ. τ. λ. the beast THUS SEALED is brought to the altar, afterward the head is cut off, and brought to the market and sold to the Greeks; but if it be not the market day, they throw the head into the river with the execration, that *if there be any evil hanging over them or over the land of Egypt, it may be poured out upon that head,*" &c.

The Jews could not be unacquainted with the rites and ceremonies of the Egyptian worship; and it is possible that such precautions as these were in use among themselves; especially as they were so strictly enjoined to have their sacrifices *without spot* and *without blemish.* GOD, infinite in holiness and justice, found JESUS CHRIST to be a lamb *without spot* or *imperfection,* and therefore SEALED *him;* pointed out and accepted him as a proper sacrifice for the sins of mankind. Collate this passage with Heb. vii. 26, 27, 28. Eph. v. 27. 2 Pet. iii. 14. and especially with Heb. ix. 13, 14. *For if the blood of* BULLS, *and of goats, and the ashes of a heifer, sprinkling the unclean sanctifieth ; how much more shall the blood of* CHRIST, *who through the eternal Spirit, offered himself* WITHOUT SPOT TO GOD, *purge your consciences from dead works ?*

OBSERVATIONS

ON

DIVERS PASSAGES OF HOLY SCRIPTURE

CHAP. I.

CONCERNING THE WEATHER IN THE HOLY LAND.

THE design of these papers is rather to illustrate the customs that are mentioned, or alluded to, in the Sacred Writings, than the references there to natural philosophy; some account, however, of the weather of this country will, I imagine, be acceptable, since the references to it are so very numerous, and nothing like a particular description of it is any where, that I know of, to be met with.

The accurate account given by Dr. Russell of the weather at Aleppo, would make one regret that no author, among the numerous describers of the Holy Land, has given us such a history of the weather of that country. And this is the more to be wondered at, as these observations might have been made without danger or offence. Geographical surveys of it, among so jealous a people, might cost a virtuoso his life; the wild Arabs, it is complained,* render even searches after plants, and other natural curiosities extremely dangerous; but *observations on the weather* might be made with perfect safety, as an European can reside in any place there, and they might be made without stirring out of a convent.

* Shaw's Preface, p. 9.

Nor is great nicety required in observations of this kind. It may be left to those that live in more commodious countries, to endeavour to give an account of the weather which shall be philosophically complete. The flat roof of any building that has but one spout for carrying off the water, might be a measurer of the different quantities of the falling rain sufficiently accurate; as the setting down the times in which they fall, together with the direction of the wind, the consequences of its blowing from different quarters, and a few other things, which the senses might judge of without the help of any curious philosophical instruments, might be sufficient for illustrating the Scriptures which relate to the weather; for they speak of these matters in a popular way only. But I do not know that this has been done with any degree of copiousness and particularity, much less for any number of years. Hereafter, perhaps, the Royal or the Antiquarian Society may procure those observations to be made; or even some private gentleman, whose curiosity has a devout turn: in the mean time, I would beg leave to lay before the public a collection of remarks of this kind, such as I have been able to draw together from those books which have fallen into my hands. This, I hope, may not be altogether unentertaining, nor indeed wholly useless, though I am sensible it is very incomplete, notwithstanding I have adopted the accounts which are given us of some other countries, where, the weather, there is reason to apprehend, is much the same as in Judea.

I will only take the liberty further to remark, now I am speaking on this subject, and looking forward with expectation and hope to what may hereafter be done by the curious, that it may be proper not to forget, that the weather differs considerably in different parts of the Holy Land. Not to mention the observation of Dr. Shaw, who affirms,* that the country from Tripoli to Sidon is much colder than the rest of the coast further North,

* P 333.

well as further South; and has a less regular change of the seasons; since these places are hardly within the Jewish limits, I would observe that Reland assures us,* on the authority of some who had been in that country, that the air and soil of the mountainous parts of Judea are much colder than that of the seacoast; and the vegetable productions much later there than in the neighbourhood of Gaza. Egmont and Heyman, in like manner, tell us,† that the air of Saphet in Galilee is from its high situation so fresh and cool, that the heats, which during the summer are very great in the adjacent country, are here hardly felt. Josephus took notice of such differences anciently, and tells us that it was warm near Jericho, when it snowed in other places of Judea;‡ an account which will not appear hard to be believed by those who have read in Egmont and Heyman,§ that they found the air about Jericho extremely troublesome on account of its great heat, which some years is quite insupportable: and actually proved fatal¶ to several the year before they were there; though Easter, at which time these pilgrimages are made, then happened in the month of March. They who would make their services of this kind quite

* Palest. p. 387. † Vol. ii. p. 47.

‡ De Bell. Jud. 1, 4. cap. viii. Ed. Havercamp. § Vol. i. p. 333.

¶ The heat also proved deadly to several people in the army of K. Baldwin IV upon fighting a battle, not far from Tiberias in Galilee, and consequently in a situation considerably more to the North than Jericho. But this appears, by what the Archbishop of Tyre says, to have been in the middle of summer, perhaps the end of June, or beginning of July; for he does not mention the time exactly. "It ought not to be passed over in silence," says this writer, Gesta Dei, &c. p. 1028, "that the heat at that time was so unusually great, that as many died, in both armies, by the heat as by the sword." He adds, that after the battle, in their return to their former encampment, "a certain ecclesiastic, of some distinction in the church and in the army, not being able to bear the vehemence of the heat, was carried in a litter, yet expired under Mount Tabor, near the river Kishon." Reland, in his Palestina, p. 992, shows that Shunem was in the neighbourhood of Mount Tabor; and at Shunem, it should seem, the heat proved deadly to a child in the days of the prophet Elisha, in the time of harvest. 2 Kings vi. 18—20.

satisfactory, should furnish the learned world with observations on the weather, as it is at Jerusalem, at Jericho, at Gaza, or some neighbouring place on that shore; in different places of Galilee, and, perhaps, I might add, at Canobin. What I have been able to do, will appear in the following particulars.

OBSERVATION I.

RAIN, THUNDER, LIGHTNING, SUMMER'S DROUGHT, &c. IN THE HOLY LAND.

In England and its neighbouring countries, it is common for rain to fall in all months of the year; but it is not so in the Levant. Every one knows, Egypt has scarcely any rain at all; and Dr. Shaw affirms, that it is as uncommon in most parts of what they call at Algiers, the Desert, which is the most southern part of that country. But these are particular cases. Rain indiscriminately in the winter months, and none at all in the summer, is what is most common in the East: so it is at Aleppo,* and about Algiers; † and so Jacobus de Vitriaco assures us ‡ it is in Judea, for he observes, that "lightning and thunder are wont, in the western countries, to be in the summer, but happen in the Holy Land in winter. That in the summer it seldom or never rains there; but in winter, though the returns of the rain are not so frequent, after they begin to fall they pour down for three or four days and nights together, as vehemently as if they would drown the country."

This is one of the most distinct accounts I have any where met with of the weather of Judea; and it is the more valuable, as he was not a mere titular Bishop of St. John d'Acre, but spent some time in that country, and wrote his history of Jerusalem in the East, after being en-

* See Russell, vol. i. p. 65. † Shaw.

‡ Vide Gesta Dei per Francos, vol. i. pp. 1097, 1098.

gaged in many transactions there, as appears by his book. I shall have occasion hereafter to take notice of all these particulars; relative to the weather, at present I only observe, that, conformably to what happens in other countries thereabouts, the summers of Judea are usually perfectly dry. Josephus confirms this as to Galilee, de Bell. Jud. lib. iii. c. 7

Bishop Patrick, therefore, when he paraphrases those words of the Psalmist, *my moisture is turned into the* drought *of summer*, "My body was consumed and parched like the grass of the earth, in the midst of the driest summer," seems rather to write like a mere Englishman, than to design to express the exact thought of David. All their summers are dry, and the withered appearance of an eastern summer, in common, is doubtless what the Psalmist refers to, without thinking of any particular year of drought. Dr. Russell's account of a Syrian summer, which the reader will meet with by and by, is the most beautiful comment that can be met with on this passage.

It was owing, probably, to a like cause, that Tacitus, the Roman historian, speaks * of Judea as a country that had not many showers; whereas, a contemporary historian,† who perfectly knew its nature, affirms that a great deal of rain fell there. Tacitus lived here in the West, and comparing, it may be imagined, a summer in Judea with what happens in Germany and France, he calls it a country of little rain.

This representation of a Jewish summer forbids our admitting the interpretation the learned and ingenious Dr. Delany has given us of this verse, in his history of the life of David.‡ He supposes the words, *my moisture is turned into the drought of summer*, signify that the change was "as if he had been removed at once from the depth of winter into midsummer; as if all the storms, and rain, and clouds, of that gloomy season, the finest emblem

* Lib. v. cap. 6. Hist. † Josephus de Bell. Jud. lib. iii. cap. 3.

‡ Vol. iii. pp. 26, 27.

of grief, were changed, at once, into serenity and sunshine; the heavens clear, unclouded, and smiling upon him." But the moisture David speaks of has not been usually understood to refer to winter, and to mean tears of grief; it may also undoubtedly, full as well at least, be considered as an image derived from the spring, which is agreeably moist in those countries. And on the other hand, midsummer there, though clear and unclouded, is no just representation of a state of pleasantness: for this we have not only the decisive authority of natural historians, but even grammarians derive the word קיץ which siguifies *summer*, from a root which points out the troublesomeness of its heats.*

OBSERVATION II.

TIME OF THE FIRST RAINS IN JUDEA.

THE learned and ingenious Dr. Shaw has given us, in his book of travels, one chapter entitled, "Physical Observations, &c. or, an Essay toward the Natural History of Syria, Phœnice, and the Holy Land;"† in which he tells us, the *first rains*, in these countries usually fall about the beginning of November, O.S.‡ But as it appears, he did not arrive in Syria or Phœnice until December;‖ that from thence, after travelling several weeks in those countries, he went by sea to Joppa, in order to go to Jerusalem the beginning of March;§ that from Jerusalem he went northward to the river Kishon, where he was the middleof April; ¶ and that, consequently, it is not to

* Kutz, tædio affici, fortè quod tum homines nonnihil molestiâ afficiantur ob Calorem Solis, says Bythner in his Lyra, p. 175.

It seems more consistent with the nature of the *time*, and the genius of the Hebrew language, to deduce it from קיץ *yakats*, to awake, to recover from a state of inactivity; in opposition to חרף *chereph*, the winter, or time of *stripping*, because nature seems then to put off its gay clothing, which is *reassumed* in the spring and summer, when the vegetative principle is *awakened* by the genial heat of the sun. EDIT.

† P. 329, &c. ‡ P. 355. ‖ P. 346. §¶ P. 271.

be supposed he was in the Holy Land in autumn: on these accounts, he cannot be admitted to speak from his own knowledge, concerning the time of the descent of the first rains. Further, as he does not tell us whence he derived his information, and that we know he sometimes draws his accounts from what he apprehends is said in the Scriptures, instead of illustrating those ancient representations by modern observations, as he does, in particular, as to the quarter from which the wind is wont to blow when rain falls,* and sometimes implicitly adopts the mistakes of our translators; I have been desirous to obtain a more satisfactory account of the weather in the Holy Land, as to this point, in autumn and the beginning of the winter, than Dr. Shaw's, which was, indeed, very probable, but not decisive.

I consulted for this purpose several books, but in vain, as to any direct and positive testimony concerning the descent of the first rains of the winter part of the year; but at length was so happy as to obtain, in a great measure, the information I wanted, from the manuscript journal of a gentleman, who was in these countries in the latter part of the year 1774. "From Cyprus he went to Tripoli, where he landed Oct. 11. On the 22d of that month he landed at Acre, which he considered as his entrance into the Holy Land, and meeting with many hindrances from the exactions of the Arabs, and the difficulty of procuring protection, he did not reach Jerusalem till the 4th of November. The first rains that are taken notice of in his journal, after the summer drought, or which he could remember, fell on the 2d and the 4th of November. On the first of those days he found some rain between Joppa and Ramah; and on the fourth of that month," his journal remarks, that "they were nine hours and a half in the rain; which fell not constantly, but in heavy showers." He added, "that the day after his arrival at Jerusalem, No-

* P. 329.

vember 5, he was prevented from going out by rain, and that it continued unsettled weather until the 19th of that month, when he left that city, but which in the climate of Britain would have been deemed very good, as the rain did not fall in large quantities, or without intermission, through the day."

This traveller found that the rain fell in the Holy Land sooner than the beginning of November, O.S. for he found it descended on the second of November, N.S. which answers to the twenty-second of October of the style used by Dr. Shaw.

It is not unlikely that it might begin to fall still sooner in Judea, since he found the peasants ploughing up their stubbles for wheat, as he passed through the vale of Esdraelon, which appeared to him to be probably, the best and most extensive spot of arable land in Palestine, as, by what remained, the crop must have been very great; and what was the more remarkable, had never received the least manure, or the soil been turned more than six inches in depth; for, according to Dr. Shaw,* the Arabs do not begin to break up the ground to sow wheat, and plant beans, until after the falling of the first rains. He found them also ploughing between Joppa and Jerusalem, with a guard attending them, to prevent their being robbed of the grain they were about to sow.

Agreeably to this supposition, of the still earlier fall of the rain of Palestine than the 22d of October, O.S. Rauwolff tells us he found the *hemerocallis* near Joppa, where he arrived the 13th of September, 1575, which Dr. Russell describes as a plant that makes not its appearance till after the first fall of the autumnal rain; and which town Rauwolff seems to have quitted the same day, before which, therefore, the rain must have fallen.†

But, be this as it may, it is indisputable that in 1774 it was found that the rain, in the Holy Land, fell several

* P. 137. † Ray's Travels, p. 228.

days sooner than Shaw assigns for its first appearance, namely, November 2, N.S. or October 22, O.S. in like manner I have been assured by the author of the History of the revolt of Ali Bey, whom I consulted upon this matter, and who lived some years in Palestine, though born in another part of the East, that the rains begin to fall in the Holy Land about the latter end of September, O.S. to which he added, that in the year in which Ali Bey encamped at Joppa,* the rain began to fall before the middle of September, O.S. he thought about the 7th.

This affords an additional ground of believing, that Russell's account of the weather at Aleppo may be considered as descriptive of that at Jerusalem, or very nearly so.† Indeed, as to this point, the time of the first descent of the autumnal rain, the lying of one place to the South more than another, seems to make no great difference, if any at all; thus Niebuhr informs us, that he found August and September almost entirely serene at Basra, when he was there; that on the 7th of October clouds began to appear, and increased until the 27th, when the rainy season began with the storm.‡ But to return to the journal of 1774: The gentleman that wrote it was told, that the rain, at that time, was more than usual at that season of the year, the rain generally preceding the frost, which was then seldom earlier than Christmas, and then not to any excess. This information seems to amount to this, That daily rain was not usual so early in the year as the beginning of November, but that, in common, great wet was wont to be delayed until the approach

* A.D. 1772.

† P. 49. "After the first rains in the autumn, the fields every where throw out the autumnal lily daffodil, and the few plants which had stood the summer now grow with fresh vigour." *Hemerocallis* is, I think, the latin name for the autumnal lily daffodil.

‡ Voy. en. Arabie & en d'autres pays circonvoisins, tom. 2, p. 186.

of Christmas, at which time frosty weather was common, but usually with no great severity.

It may not be much amiss to add, that travellers have found the like copious rains in Galilee, about Christmas, that the people of Jerusalem spoke of. So Haynes, who visited several places in Galilee, in the year 1767, and arrived at Tiberias, on the sea of Gennesaret, on the 29th of December of that year, found, that a few days before he arrived, there had fallen very heavy rains, which rendered the streets exceedingly muddy, so much so, that in some places it was as high as their horses' knees.*

I would finish this article with observing, that according to Josephus,† copious rain descended about Jerusalem before the Feast of Tabernacles, in the year that Antiochus Pius besieged that city, δυομενης πλειαδος,‡ the Pleiades being near sitting.

OBSERVATION III.

ORIGIN OF THE CUSTOM OF POURING OUT WATER AT THE FEAST OF TABERNACLES.

THE Jews seem to be at a great loss, when they would explain the ground of that ceremony of pouring out water with solemnity at the Feast of Tabernacles; of which ceremony Moses says nothing in the law, but to which our LORD is supposed to allude in the 7th of John, when *in the last day, that great day of the feast,* JESUS *stood, and cried, saying, If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink. He that believeth on me, as the Scripture hath said, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water. But this spake he of the Spirit, which they that believe on him should receive.*‖ It seems to be of late observance, and is not well accounted for.

* P. 125, 126.

† Antiq. lib. iii. cap. 8. sect. 2. p. 657. Ed. Havercamp.

‡ That constellation *actually* sets the beginning of November. ‖ V. 37—39.

That festival is described by Moses as a memorial of the dwelling of Israel in tents, in the wilderness:* and also, as being a time of rejoicing, on account of the ingathering of all the fruits of the earth at the end of the year:† but no mention is made of its connexion with the rains that were then soon expected to follow, until after the return of the Jews from their captivity in Babylon. Then indeed the prophet Zechariah said, *It shall come to pass, that every one that is left of all the nations which came against Jerusalem, shall even go up, from year to year, to worship the King, the* LORD *of Hosts, and to keep the feast of Tabernacles. And it shall be that whoso will not come up of all the families of the earth, unto Jerusalem to worship the King, the* LORD *of Hosts, even upon them shall be no rain.*‡ Here it seems, that the attending the feast of Tabernacles is connected with the obtaining the rains of autumn, which are of such consequence after the drought of a Syrian summer; and therefore probably this rite then obtained, and the pouring out water in the temple, with solemnity, as before GOD, was understood to be a religious prognostic of the approach of rain, or a morally instrumental and procuring cause of its speedy coming.

Rabbi Akibah, according to Dr. Lightfoot,‖ gives this reason for the pouring out the water at this time: *The law saith, Bring an omer of barley at the Passover, for that is the season of barley, that the corn may be blessed. Bring wheat and the first fruits at Pentecost, which was the season of trees, that the fruit of trees may be blessed unto thee. Bring the libation of water at the feast of Tabernacles, that the showers may be blessed to thee. And accordingly it is said, that whoever will not come to the Feast of Tabernacles shall have no rain.*

* Lev. xxiii. 43. † Deut. xvi. 13—16. ‡ Ch. xiv. 16, 17.

‖ Works, vol. ii. p. 978.

There is something pleasing in this account, but it will hardly bear examination. Pentecost was the time of presenting the first fruits of the wheat, as the Passover was of the barley, but not of the trees, at least not of the most important of them; for the vine, the olive, the fig, and the pomegranate, had not then produced their fruit.* The first fruits, however, of these trees were presented,† perhaps at this Feast of Tabernacles, but the water could not be considered in a similar light, for the water that was presented was not the first of the rainwater of that autumn, but what remained of the rains of the preceding season. Rabbi Akibah then should not have classed the water of this libation, with other things that were the first fruits of the mercies they had received from God. Akibah's account, however, is far preferable to that of Maimonides, which follows immediately after in Lightfoot.

The truest account perhaps is, that this rite was derived from the Persians, and other neighbouring nations, among whom they dwelt in the time of their captivity, but more properly applied.

Abriz, according to d'Herbelot,‡ signifies in Persian a vessel proper for the pouring out of water, from whence is formed the word *Abrizan*, or *Abrizghian*, which is the name of a feast, that the old Persians solemnized on the 13th day of the month Tir, which nearly corresponds with our month of September,‖ with abundance of idola-

* Dr. Chandler found that the wheat harvest, and almonds so far ripened as to be pleasant to eat, were coincident things in Greece. Trav. p. 207—211.

† Deut. xxvi. ‡ Page 17.

‖ The fourth month in the ancient Persian year was called تیر *Teer*, answering to our *June*. *Teer* was an angel, who was supposed to preside over Cattle. The 13th of this month was solemnized by the festival called ابریزگان *Abreczgan*, during which all sorts of people sprinkled each other with water, the higher rank using water of roses, of orange flowers, and of other odoriferous plants. But the ceremony of sprinkling with water was not confined to this festival, as it is not only made part of the entertainment of the *Noorooz*, or new year's day, but also of the *Mihrgan*, a festival which was celebrated on the 16th of the month *Mihr*, which answers to our *September*. EDIT.

trous superstitions : but the Persians of our times, who are become Mohammedans, have retained nothing more of this festival than the aspersion of rose or orange flower water, with which they regale one another, in the visits they make each other that day, which commonly falls out about the autumnal equinox.

This ancient heathenish festival, whose name signifies the *pouring out of water*, and was apparently preparatory to the descent of the rain in those countries, being about the time of the autumnal equinox, has been adopted by the Mohammedans in part, who are as zealous against every thing of an idolatrous nature as the Jews could ever have been. Might not the returning Jews then think of adding some memorial of JEHOVAH's being the Giver of Rain, to that ancient national solemnity that had been enjoined by Moses, to be observed just about the same time of the year with that of the Persian festival, which that people with solemnity ascribed to some deity they worshipped, but which the Jews knew was the gift of JEHOVAH ?*

We all know how readily the Christians, of the countries that lie West of the meridian of Jerusalem, adopted many of the religious practices of their unconverted countrymen; and though we may not have been equally apprized of it, the Mohammedans of the more eastern parts of the world have frequently done the same. Might not the Jews be influenced by some of the same motives? Human nature is much the same in all parts of the world.

The Mohammedans of Persia, in like manner, now observe the first day of every new year, according to the reckoning of their ancient heathen countrymen, namely, the precise day in which the sun enters into Aries, which is in March. This is a way of computation of the year quite different from that which their religion has taught them, according to which their new year's day is moveable, and falls out in length of time in all seasons, autumn as well as

* See Note, p. 108.

spring, summer as well as winter. For some time, we are told by Sir John Chardin,* the Mohammedans of this country would not observe the first day of the solar year, out of opposition to those that persisted in their old country worship of fire, considering it as consecrated by them to the sun, which they thought was idolatrous, and therefore abhorred all public rejoicing that day. But at length, the lucky circumstance of one of their princes happening to succeed to the crown that day, revived the observation, and it is now celebrated with great splendour; the exact time of the entering of the sun into this sign of the zodiac being observed by their astronomers with great care. And with the greatest joy an old custom is revived, of presenting one another with painted and gilded eggs, some of them being so curiously done as to cost three ducats apiece.† This it seems was a very ancient custom in Persia, an egg being expressive of the origin and beginning of things.

Nor is this the only instance that this ingenious traveller remarked; for he tells us in another page,‡ that the first of October was a festival, called by the Persians the *Luminous Night*, in which God is disposed in a special manner to attend to their prayers, and is accordingly spent by their devout people in reading and in prayer. He adds, that it is believed to have been instituted in lieu of another, very much like it, which was observed by the old Persians the 16th of the month Bahmen, which was called the Festival of Lights, the solemnity consisting principally of illuminations and bonfires, kept up, according to their circumstances, through the whole night.

An attention to what has happened of late times in Persia, may probably dispose us to imagine, that the like might happen to the Jewish captives, and that they might be disposed, at their return, to join the Persian custom of pouring out water with solemnity about the time of the

* Voyages, tome 1, p. 171. † Seven or eight and twenty shillings.

‡ Tome 3, p. 191.

autumnal equinox, a little before the rains were expected to fall, to the Mosaic Feast of Tabernacles, which was solemnized about the same time of the year.

I will only add, that if they presented *water* at all to GOD, it was to be done according to the spirit of their law, by solemnly *pouring it out* before him; so, according to the institutions of Moses, blood, which was sacred to GOD, was poured out before him: and by presenting things to GOD, they were taught to acknowledge they received them from him. Consequently, though it was not commanded, the pouring out water before GOD, when they implored the descent of rains, was not abhorrent from their other usages.

After all, it is very possible that the occasional pouring out water before GOD, with a view to the obtaining rain from him, in times of drought, by such a solemn acknowledgment that they considered it as his gift, might be practised long before the captivity in Babylon, and before its becoming an annual ceremony. Thus we find, when Israel assembled at Mizpeh, bewailing their preceding idolatries, *they drew water, and poured it out before the* LORD, *and fasted on that day, and said there, We have sinned against the* LORD. 1 Sam. vii. 6.

I do not know that any of the commentators have supposed, that this pouring out water at Mizpeh before the LORD was supplicatory, and expressive of their praying for rain; but if it is admitted, that the pouring out water afterward, at the Feast of Tabernacles, had a relation to rain, I think it can be no improbable conjecture, that it had a like signification in the time of the Prophet Samuel. We know, by undoubted evidence, that Judea was liable to suffer by drought,* and that GOD threatened to punish them for their sins by the want of rain;† on the other hand, something particular, we may suppose, was the occasion of rousing them from a stupor that had lasted twen-

* 1 Kings xvii. 1. Amos iv. 7, &c. † Deut. xi. 17. 1 Kings viii. 35.

ty years,* and no fresh distress from the Philistines, previous to the meeting at Mizpeh, is insinuated. *Thunder*, which was granted in consequence of the prayers of Samuel,† is represented by Russell as frequently the forerunner of rain in those countries ;‡ and JEHOVAH had claimed the sole power of giving rain, in contradistinction from idols,‖ and had directed them to pray with solemnity for that mercy, when they were brought to repent of their idolatries,§ which might naturally be supposed to induce them, on the expostulations of Samuel, to gather together for humiliation and prayer before GOD at Mizpeh, and to pour out water before him, in acknowledgment that they admitted it was his gift alone, and that all their hopes were derived from his mercy.

OBSERVATION IV

OF THUNDER SHOWERS IN JUDEA, WITH AN ILLUSTRATION OF FIRST SAM. XII. 16—18.

BUT though commonly there is no rain at Aleppo through the whole summer, yet sometimes there is such a thing as a smart thunder shower.

So Dr. Russell tells us,¶ that in the night betwixt the first and second of July, 1743, some severe thunder showers fell ; but adds, that it was a thing very extraordinary at that season. Possibly it may be more uncommon still at Jerusalem, for St. Jerom, who lived long in the Holy Land,

* 1 Sam. vii. 2. † V. 9, 10. ‡ Vol. i. p. 72, and Vol. ii. p. 285—6.

‖ Job v. 8, 9, 10. Deut. xi. 14, 17, and how these passages were understood and explained to the Jewish people, appears from Jer. xiv. 22. *Are there any among the vanities of the Gentiles that can cause rain ? or can the heavens give showers ?*

§ So GOD afterward explained to Solomon, 2 Chron. vii. 12—14, the less strictly expressed precept given by Moses, and the promise of forgiveness upon their repentance, Lev. xxvi. 19, 20, 40, 41, 42.

¶ Vol. ii. p. 289.

denies, in his commentary on Amos, his having ever seen rain in those provinces, and especially in Judea, in the end of June, or in the month of July; but if it should be found to be otherwise, and that, though St. Jerom had never seen it, such a thing may now and then happen there, as it did at Aleppo while Dr. Russell resided in that city, the fact recorded 1 Samuel xii. 16—18, might nevertheless be an authentic proof of what Samuel affirmed: since a very rare and unusual event, immediately happening, without any preceding appearance of such a thing, upon the prediction of a person professing himself to be a prophet, and giving this as an attestation of his being a messenger of GOD, is a sufficient proof of a divine mission, as is also its happening at any after time, distinctly marked out, though a like event has sometimes happened without any such declared interposition of GOD, and therefore understood, on all hands, to be casual and without design. Bp. Warburton has sufficiently argued this point in his Julian, where he supposes those fiery eruptions, crosses, &c. which happened upon that emperor's attempt to build the Jewish temple at Jerusalem, were such as have happened at other times, without any particular meaning, and yet, as they were then circumstanced, were an authentic attestation to the truth of Christianity. It should not be forgotten that this thunder and rain of Samuel seem to have been in the *day time*, and while Samuel and the Israelites continued together, solemnizing Saul's inauguration, which circumstance added considerably to the energy of this event, Dr. Russell informing us,* that the rains in those countries usually fall in the *night*, as did those uncommon thunder showers of July, 1743.

* Vol. ii. p. 282.

OBSERVATION V

METHOD OF WATERING THEIR GROUNDS IN THE EAST.

THIS drought in summer occasions frequent waterings in Judea.

Dr. Pococke, in his journey from Acre to Nazareth,* observed a well, from whence water, drawn up by oxen, was carried by women, in earthen jars, up a hill, to water plantations of tobacco. He mentions another well presently after, whose water was drawn up by boys, in leather buckets, and carried off in jars, by women, as before.

If it should be asked now, how does this agree with those passages of Scripture† that distinguish the Holy Land from Egypt, by its *drinking the rain from heaven*, while Egypt *was watered with the foot?* The answer, I imagine, that should be returned is this: Those passages themselves suppose gardens of herbs, and consequently such plantations as these, were to be watered by art in the Jewish country, and the difference designed to be pointed out, was the necessity the Egyptians were under of watering their corn lands in the same manner, to prepare them for sowing; whereas the lands of Judea are prepared by the descent of rain. These lands of Egypt, indeed, are watered by the overflowing of the Nile, and are by that so saturated with moisture, that Maillet assures us,‡ they want no more watering for the producing of corn, and several other things, though the gardens require fresh supplies of moisture every three or four days; but then it is to be remembered, that immense labour was requisite to conduct the waters of the Nile to many of their lands: Maillet himself celebrates § those works of the ancient kings of Egypt, by which they distributed the waters of the Nile through their whole country, as the greatest, the

* V. 2. p. 61. † Deut. xi. 10, 11.

‡ Descr. de l'Egypte, Let. ix. p. 5. § Let. 2. p. 45.

most magnificent, and the most admirable of all their works; and these labours which they caused their subjects to undergo, doubtless were designed to prevent much heavier, which they must otherwise have submitted to.* And, perhaps, there might be an emphasis in those words of Moses, which has not of late been at all understood: for Maillet tells us,† that he was assured that the large canal which filled the cisterns of Alexandria, and which is at least fifteen leagues long, was entirely paved, and its sides lined and supported by walls of brick, which were as perfect as they were in the times of the Romans: if bricks were used in the construction of their more ancient canals, and those made by the Israelites in Egypt designed for purposes of this kind, they must have heard with great pleasure the words of Moses, assuring them the country to which they were going would want no canals to be dug, no bricks to be prepared for paving and lining them, in order to water it, which labours had been so bitter to them in Egypt. Exod. i. 14, favours this account: hard bondage, in mortar and brick, is joined there with other services of the field. Philo understands‡ those services of the field, of digging canals and cleansing them; and the mortar and the brick, are, in this view, very naturally joined with them.

* The MS. C, in a note on Prov. xvii. 14, informs us, that great brawlings frequently attend the opening these watering canals in the East; and he supposes that interpreters have not well understood that text, which he imagined referred to these brawlings. According to this, the sense of the Royal Preacher is, leave off contention, before it be meddled with, for strife will be like the brawlings at opening a watering canal; but is not this saying, strife will be like strife? The Jews certainly, whether they had, or had not, instances of that kind in their own country, were not unacquainted with the terrible effects of inundations, which sometimes, destructive as they are, arise from small breaches, 2 Sam. v. 20, and Lam. ii. 13. *Thy breach is great like the sea*, or rather "like a sea," some mighty lake, *who can heal thee?* plainly prove this. And to destructive events of this kind Solomon, I suppose, refers, and compares the beginning of strife to these small outlets, which are every moment enlarging, until the inundation proves irretrievably destructive.

† Let. iv. p. 144. Let. ix. p. 5, 6. ‡ See Patrick on the place.

Dr. Shaw has explained* the term watering with the foot in the following important observation:

"Such vegetable productions as require more moisture than what is occasioned by the inundation, of the Nile, are refreshed by water drawn out of the river by instruments, and lodged afterward in capacious cisterns. When, therefore, their various sorts of pulse, melons, sugar canes, &c. all which are commonly ploughed in rills, require to be refreshed, they strike out the plugs that are fixed in the bottom of the cisterns; and then the water gushing out is conducted from one rill to another by the gardener; who is always ready, as occasion requires to stop and divert the torrent, *by turning the earth against it, by his foot*, and opening, at the same time, with his mattock, a new trench to receive it. This method of converting moisture and nourishment to a land rarely or ever refreshed with rain, is often alluded to in the Holy Scriptures; where also it is made the distinguishing quality betwixt Egypt and the land of Canaan. *For the land*, says Moses, Deut. xi. 10, 11, *whither thou goest in to possess it, is not as the land of Egypt, from whence ye came out, where thou sowedst thy seed, and wateredst it with thy foot, as a garden of herbs: but the land whither ye go to possess it, is a land of hills and valleys, and drinketh water of the rain of heaven.*

May I take the liberty of adding to this account, that this way of watering, by conveying a little stream to the root of plants, is so universal, that though the Mishna forbids all watering of plants, in the seventh year, as contrary to their law, R. Eleazar allows the watering the leaf of a plant, though not the root!† A stranger to the Eastern management would hardly know what to make of this indulgence.

* P. 308. † In tit. Shebiith.

OBSERVATION VI.

TIME OF PLOUGHING AND SOWING IN BARBARY AND IN JUDEA.

Dr. Shaw seems to suppose, that the Arabs of Barbary do not begin to break up their grounds until the first rains of autumn fall;* but as the Journal of 1774 makes mention of ploughing the ground, before it mentions the fall of the autumnal rains, so the author of the History of Ali Bey's Revolt, in his conversation with me on that subject, supposed they sometimes plough the land before the descent of rain, the soil being light and capable of being stirred without difficulty.

There is nothing incredible in this: grain will lie long in the earth unhurt, and spring up upon the coming of rain, as is often experienced in England. The like ploughing and sowing may be practised in the East in expectation of rain, and indeed seems to be referred to by Solomon, Eccl. xi. 4, *He that observeth the wind shall not sow; and he that regardeth the clouds shall not reap.* If the earth was always moistened with rain when they sowed their grain, there would be no occasion to observe the wind, whether it was from a quarter that was wont to produce rain, or such as usually brought fair weather: but if grain was sown previous to the coming of the rain, but in expectation of it, they might naturally enough be induced to wait until they saw the signs of its approach, particularly the blowing of the wind that was wont to bring rain, and not sow until those signs at least appeared.

OBSERVATION VII.

OF THE WINDS AT ALEPPO, AND IN THE HOLY LAND.

The same obliging gentleman, who favoured me with the preceding account of the rainy nature of the weather,

* P. 137.

when he was at Jerusalem, in the month of November, 1774, informed me, at the same time, that "the wind that usually brings rain there is the North East." This, I apprehend, is to be understood of the rainy weather of the beginning of the winter, not of that of the spring, which probably comes from another quarter.

I was somewhat surprised, I own, when I first received this account, since our LORD says, Luke xii. 54, *When ye see a cloud rise out of the West, straightway ye say, there cometh a shower; and so it is:* and especially as this very late visitant of the Holy Land appears to me, to have been careful in making his observations, and accurate in communicating them.

But upon consulting Dr. Russell, on the weather at Aleppo, I find that the winds there are variable in November, seldom strong, but more inclined to the North and East than any of the other quarters.* He gives the same account of the direction of the winds in December† and January.‡ Concerning February, he says, "the winds are much as in the preceding month, until toward the end, and then it sometimes blows hard westerly."‖ As to March, that "the winds are stronger than in the preceding months, and blow much oftener westerly."§ April is, "in general, fair, clear weather; seldom dark or cloudy, except when it rains, which it does in hard thunder showers, as in the last month, but not so often. There are commonly a few close, hazy days; these happen when there are light breezes northerly, or easterly, but the winds in general are fresh westerly."¶ In May the wind is sometimes northerly or easterly, but "for much the greater part is fresh and westerly."**

The observations therefore which this gentleman lately made himself at Jerusalem, and which, from his way of writing, seem to have been conformable to what had been

* Vol. ii. p. 286. † P. 287. ‡ P. 282.

‖ P. 282. § P. 283. ¶ P. 287. ** P. 28[illegible]

usually observed by those that resided in that country, concerning the direction of the wind there in the time of the beginning of the winter's rain, perfectly agree with Dr. Russell's account of the weather at Aleppo at that season.

But at Aleppo the wind alters in the rainy season, and begins to blow from the West in February, and continues to do so till May, after which seldom any more rain falls at Aleppo until the autumn, when the wind is commonly north-easterly.

This very fresh account from Jerusalem then confirms the supposition, that the weather is much the same in Judea as at Aleppo, and serves to determine that our LORD made this observation to the people in the *spring*, his words being a description of the weather, the wind and the rain, as they are in the spring, not as they are in the close of autumn, or the beginning of winter.

The lilies, then, which are mentioned in the 27th verse of this chapter of St. Luke, might be growing, at that very time, before the eyes of his auditors. How far this observation may be useful to those that endeavour nicely to determine the time of our LORD's ministry upon the whole, or the particular seasons when any of the events happened which the Evangelists have recorded, I leave to the examination of my readers.

OBSERVATION VIII.

VERY SMALL CLOUDS, THE FORERUNNERS OF VIOLENT STORMS AND HURRICANES.

INGENIOUS travellers have supposed the kind of cloud which the servant of Elijah saw, 1 Kings, xviii. 44, *like a man's hand*, is a natural prognostic of rain, and observed as such in the East at this day; perhaps it may be so in the West too.

So Sir J. Chardin in his MS. tells us, great storms are wont to begin with such a sort of cloud, and that it is the

sign of them at sea; and he proposed to illustrate this passage by what he had observed in going from Ormus to Basra, with Captain Nicholas Vidal.

I am sorry we have only this memorandum, and that I cannot find a complete account of the observations he made on this point, in these papers.

A very learned, ingenious, and observing clergyman, in Suffolk, made this memorandum, on reading the paragraph I have referred to: "I saw a cloud *like a man's hand*, on an high hill at Beachborough in Kent, and immediately followed by a violent shower, then fair again."

Yet I believe the figure of the cloud seen at Mount Carmel, is commonly considered as an unmeaning circumstance in the prophetic history, for want of due observation.*

OBSERVATION IX.

TIME OF THE VINTAGE AND OLIVE GATHERING.

St. Jerom has appeared to be so careless and inaccurate, in his accounts relating to the natural history of Judea, that I have expressed myself with some doubt, as to the time he assigns for the vintage of that country; but it appears from this late account, of 1774, that he was sufficiently exact upon this subject, and that the vintage of Judea is not earlier than at Aleppo.

St. Jerom placed it in the end of September or beginning of October. This gentleman accordingly found, that in the year 1774 it did not begin till the middle of October, N. S.

* I have noticed this often at sea, and have seen it repeated several times on the same day in the English Channel. A cloud, about the *size of a man's hand*, first appeared; this gradually increased till the whole heavens were robed in black, and a dreadful storm was the consequence. When the storm had discharged itself, and all was comparatively clear, the reappearance of the *hand-like cloud* was the undoubted evidence, as it was the forerunner, of another storm. EDIT.

The vintage and olive gathering are probably coincident, or nearly so, for Sig. Lusignan told me, the last, in the Holy Land, is wont to be in the latter end of September, O. S.

Consequently, there could be but just time, in common, to gather in all the fruits of the earth, and for the Israelites to have returned home to their several countries, from celebrating the Feast of Tabernacles at Jerusalem, before the rain began to descend.

As the Jews were frequently obliged to intercalate their years, on account of the backwardness of the spring, with regard to their barley, their lambs, and their pigeons,* so I think I have somewhere found it affirmed, that they were cautious, not unnecessarily, to admit of an intercalation, lest their people should not be able to get home from the Feast of Tabernacles before the rains fell.†

This implies two things: that the rain might be expected to fall soon after the Feast of Tabernacles; and that the autumnal rain would incommode them in journeying.

It might be supposed, from the account Dr. Russell gives of the extreme pleasantness of the season, after the first rains of autumn have fallen,‡ that this would have been no disagreeable circumstance to those Jews that had far to travel: but I would remark, that Rauwolff complains of being retarded in his journey by the autumnal rains; and others have mentioned their frequently lodging, during their journies, under trees, without any other defence against rain which might fall, as it often does there in the night, and in very heavy showers.§ To this is to be added, the consideration that the autumnal rains are generally preceded by a squall, in the nature of

* See Lightfoot on Matt. xii. 1. vol. ii, p. 185.

† Though not mentioned by Reland, in his account of their cautiousness in intercalating their years, in his Antiq. Sacræ, p. 4, cap. 1.

‡ Descript. of Aleppo, Vol. i. p. 68, 69. § Vol. ii. p. 289.

a whirlwind, a day or two before the first rains fall,* which must make travelling extremely disagreeable, in countries where the soil is so often very light and sandy.

The complaint of Rauwolff, which I was mentioning, is in the beginning of his 5th ch. part i. where he tells us, that he and his companions set out for Aleppo, from Tripolis, the 9th of November. "By the way, we met with a great deal of rain, which commonly begins at that time of the year, and continues almost all the winter long. This kept us so much back, that we reached not to Damant, which is in the midway from Tripolis to Aleppo, before the fourth day." Tripolis lies in the common way from Jerusalem to Aleppo and to Antioch, and other places to the North: many Jews had to travel South-westward, through the Deserts, to Egypt; but perhaps the most of them Eastward and North-eastward to Babylon, to Mesopotamia, to Media, and elsewhere that way, where they dwelt in great numbers, and had very flourishing settlements.

If the first rains did not fall in the road from Tripolis to Aleppo until the 9th of November, 1573, O. S. it certainly began a fortnight sooner in Judea itself, in the year 1774; and Niebuhr found the rainy season began with a storm, on the 27th of October, at Basra.†

Rain certainly falls, from time to time, in the Desert between Judea and Egypt;‡ but how early it begins to fall there in autumn, I do not remember to have seen mentioned in any traveller; but if a preceding remark I have made be true, namely, that the being situated more or less toward the South, in those countries that seldom have any rain all summer, and expect none until autumn, makes very little, if any difference as to the time of the falling of those rains, the rain might overtake the Egyptian Jews in passing over that Desert, as well as those that lived in other countries, if the Feast of Tabernacles

* Vol. i. p. 68, 69. † Voy. tome ii. p. 186.

‡ Gesta Dei, pp. 1010, 1011.

was too long delayed: for in all these different countries the rain appears to fall much about the same time.

In confirmation of which, I would add to the observations of Russell at Aleppo, and of Niebuhr at Basra, near six degrees more to the South, the account of what Pietro della Valle found in the Desert, by the Euphrates, in his way to Bagdad. Departing from Anna, October 11th, 1616, they pursued their voyage on the Mesopotamian side of the river, and found rain, for the first time in this their journey, the evening of that day, which was attended with a wind so violent and furious as that it overturned all their tents; but that storm did not continue long, being over in less than an hour.*

Through this Desert great numbers of Jews must have had to pass, in their way to Babylon, and many other towns in the southern part of Mesopotamia, and on the Tigris; and such storms of wind as should overturn their tents, in the midst of a heavy shower, must have been very inconvenient.

OBSERVATION X.

NATURE OF THE SUMMERS AND WINTERS IN THE HOLY LAND.

As the summers of the Holy Land are perfectly dry, its winters are wet.

At Palmyra,† and Mount Sinai,‡ it seldom rains but at the equinoxes; and Lightfoot seems to have imagined there was nearly the same limitation on the rain in Judea, for he supposes that, excepting the rains of Marheshvan and Nisan, there was generally no rain in that country.§ But Lightfoot was mistaken, its weather is very different from what it is at Palmyra and Mount Sinai, and more resembles the weather at Aleppo and Algiers, according to

* Let. 17. † Ruins of Palmyra, p. 37. ‡ Shaw, p. 438.

§ V. ii. p. 409

the descriptions of Russell and Shaw: that is, the winter months are indiscriminately more or less wet. This sufficiently appears by what I have cited out of Jacobus de Vitriaco,* and is confirmed by other authors in that collection, entitled *Gesta dei per Francos.* So the Archbishop of Tyre,† giving us an account of the Prince of Antioch's journey to Jerusalem, soon after it was taken, tells us, that many of his company, through want of food, intenseness of the cold, and heaviness of the rains, perished; adding, for it was winter, the month of December. That month then, is often a rainy one. Fulcherius Carnotensis, who was in this journey, and saw many of both sexes die, besides numbers of their beasts, says, they were kept wet for four or five days together, by the continual rains.‡ In like manner this William of Tyre also tells us, that K. Baldwin IV. of Jerusalem, returned to Ascalon, after having gained a great victory in its neighbourhood over the troops of Saladine, on the 25th of November, 1175, or 1176, in order to give time for his forces, who were scattered in pursuing the enemy, to reassemble, which they did in four days; this, he remarks, was a very lucky circumstance, because on the following day, and so on for ten days successively, such was the quantity of rain that fell, and such the severity of the cold, that the elements seemed to conspire the ruin of such troops as were unsheltered, obliging those of Saladine to surrender themselves. Judea then is not one of those places where it only rains at the equinoxes, these severe showers being in December. Fulcherius Carnotensis likewise, in giving an account of another expedition, tells us, it was undertaken in the showery month of February,‖ that then is also a wet month; and consequently, the winter months are rainy, indiscriminately.

And accordingly, the Hebrew word, חרף *choreph*, which we translate winter, seems rather precisely to mean the wet

* Under the first Observation. † P. 771. ‡ P. 1010, 1011.

‖ P. 421. Dum mensis Februus adhuc imbribus hybernis terras cohiberet.

season. *O that I were as in months past*, says Job, ch. xxix. 2, 4, *as in the days when* GOD *preserved me; as I was in the days of my winter!* In the days of his moist time, that is, when, as he expresses it in the 19th and 20th verses, *My root was spread out by the waters, and the dew lay all night upon my branch; my glory was fresh in me.* Not in the days of his disgrace then, the days in which he was *stripped* of his ornaments, as an herb of its leaves and flowers in the winter, but like a plant in the latter part of the rainy season, before the violent heats and drought come on, which scorch and burn up every thing.*

Buxtorf, in his Epitome, supposes, indeed, that this word, which is derived from a root, signifying dishonor and reproach, is made use of to express the time of winter, because it dishonors the trees or shrubs by taking away their greenness and splendour; but may it not be as well occasioned by the disagreeableness that, in one view of things, attend the rainy season; when, as a polite writer expresses it, "the heavens are filled with clouds, when the earth swims in rain, and all nature wears a lowering countenance."† A description which, by its force, almost induces that melancholy on the mind, which those uncomfortable scenes, those dark disconsolate seasons, so often bring upon it.

OBSERVATION XI.

SEVERITY OF THE COLD IN WINTER.

THAT the frost and cold are, in some winters, very severe in Jerusalem, and even in some of the lower parts of Judea, appears from Vinisauf, who confirms the account,

* Rather, "in the days of his autumn," when the heats of summer were abated, and the trees and fields being *stripped* of their fruits, plenty was heaped upon his board. EDIT.

† Spect. No. 83.

that rain or snow are not uncommon in the middle of winter at Jerusalem; that they are sometimes in very great quantities; and the cold very severe.

For speaking of a consultation among the crusaders a few days after Epiphany, January 6th, 1192,* whether they should make an attempt on Jerusalem, or postpone its recovery to a more advantageous time, he tells us, the Turks, who had shut themselves up in Jerusalem, were, at that time, in a very distressed state, oppressed by excessive snow and hail, which melting, occasioned great torrents from the mountains, sweeping away their horses and cattle in droves, and killing others with the violence of the cold.†

It appears from hence, that a bridge over the brook Kedron may be very requisite, though its bed should be found to be often dry in winter as well as summer, since if the torrent was, at the time Vinisauf speaks of, so very destructive, it must be supposed to be often so considerable as to make a bridge very necessary.

A few days after, it appears by the succeeding page, the cold was so severe at Ramula, whose situation is lower, and less exposed to the severity of the weather, that the waters were so frozen as to make the travelling of beasts of burden very troublesome. It was not, however, so great as to prevent their sinking in muddy places.

It appears in the next chapter, but same page, that soon after, in removing from thence, King Richard found the ways so dirty as to be extremely fatiguing. But the next morning's journey made them forget the difficulties of the preceding day: "for the frozen snow driving in their faces,

* In the printed copy it is by mistake MCXXII, but it is certain that MCXCII, is the year meant.

† Turci quippe, qui intra Jerusalem civitatem se cohibebant, perniciosissimis angustiabantur suppliciis multimodis; nivium enim et grandium (grandinum) opprimebantur nimietate, ex quarum nihilominus resolutionibus aquarum diluvium à montanis defluens, equos eorum et jumenta catervatim involvit, vel certe frigoris asperitas necavit. P. 373.

thick storms of hail descended with so much force as to rebound with violence, the rains occasioned such torrents, as that there seemed to be a concurrence of every circumstance that tended to overwhelm them, the boggy ground at the same time giving way so much as to occasion the horses to fall, and many of them to perish."* At length after much distress, they arrived at Ascalon, the 20th of January. This sharp weather then was in the low lands, at Ramula, and the road from thence to Ascalon, and happened between the 6th and 20th of January.

It appears from circumstances, for the times are not distinctly marked, that the following descriptions relate to the preceding month of December, or at furthest the last days of November. The first of them occurs in p. 369, where he tells us, that the army under King Richard being encamped between St. George's† and Ramula, expecting more troops as well as provisions, they continued there twenty two days, exposed not only to frequent attacks, but to the rains, which became so heavy as to force them to retire, some to St. George's, some to Ramula.

Proceeding in this account, and describing their going to the foot of the hilly part of the country, toward Jerusalem, he informs us, that at that time most heavy rains fell, and the air was very severe, so that very many of their beasts perished; that the rains, storms of hail, and winds, were so vehement, that the stakes of their tents were torn up, and carried to a distance; that by the extremity of the cold and wet their horses perished, and the greatest part of their victuals were spoiled; their biscuit being soaked through, and their bacon decayed; their arms

* Festi nimirum dum proficiscerentur, gelidæ nives impluunt vultibus, grandinum densitates reverberant, pluviæ torrentes involvunt, ut tanquam ad examinandum omne cælum deputaretur affligendis, sed et terra pedibus cedebat ambulantium cœnulenta, locis palustribus decidunt veredarii equi et homines, qui, dum solicitius toto conamine elaborant emergere, desperabilius revolvuntur in præceps, *quamplurimi* non amplius evasuri. O quis æstimaret illius amaritudinem diei?

† Or Lydda.

dreadfully rusted, and their clothes greatly damaged."* p. 371.

Such is the description this writer gives us of the December of the year 1191, and of the following January, as they found the weather in that country; and as no intimation is given to the contrary, we are to suppose Vinisauf believed there was nothing very unusual in it, but that he apprehended such were the winters, very frequently of that country.

So this writer describes the preceding winter as being very wet, which was the cause of great sickness among the pilgrims, "unheard of rains pouring down very frequently, nay continually, and causing inundations.†

How desirable would it be, that some accurate observers would examine, by means of exact Imbrometers, the quantity of rain wont to fall in the Holy Land, of which this ancient writer makes such heavy complaints!

The vehemence of the wind is, we see, often mentioned in these accounts of the heaviness of the rains. This circumstance is also mentioned by this writer, or some other, whose account of the taking Damiata, in the year 1219, is subjoined to the history of the expedition of Richard I.

There we are told, that in a preceding excursion‡ into the Holy Land, when the Patriarch and the Cross were not present, they suffered many difficulties and hardships, partly from robbers, and partly from the disagreeableness of the winter season, particularly in their travel-

* Tunc nobis ingruebant pluviæ gravissimæ, et aeris intemperies sævissima; unde jumentorum nostrorum periere quamplurima, tanta quippe exorta est tempestas pluviarum, grandinum, ventorumque vehementium irruebant fragores, ut papilionum palos avellerent, et longius dejicerent; et equi, frigoris magnitudine, et nimietate aquarum perirent, et pars maxima victualium panis biscoctus distemperabatur in dissolutionem, et carnes suillæ, vulgariter bacones, computrescebant, &c.

† P. 249. Præterea, ex nimia imbrium inundatione, quædam nimium vehemens excrevit in hominibus infirmitas; *inauditæ* quidem pluviæ assidue, imo continue, exercitum tanta affecit injuria, &c.

‡ In the year 1217.

ling on Christmas Eve, and in the succeeding sacred night, in which they had to go through an heavy land-tempest of wind and rain. This, it seems, happened when they were in the borders of Tyre and Sidon, near to Sarepta.*

Vinisauf, however, admits that the summers of that country are wont to be dry; for, toward the end of his history, he observes, that by the advice of the most judicious of those whom they consulted, they were obliged to give over the design of besieging Jerusalem in the summer of the year 1192, because, he tells us, "The festival of St. John† was at hand, when all things were naturally dry, the heat increasing, especially about Jerusalem, which is seated in the mountainous part of the country; and that the Turks had stopped up all the cisterns on every side of the city, so that no water that was drinkable could be come at within two miles."‡

It has been confirmed too by those that have lived in these countries, notwithstanding the severe cold that is sometimes felt there, that unless particular winds blow, it is perfectly pleasant sitting with the chamber windows open, in the Christmas holidays, as I have been assured by a very curious, inquisitive, and learned clergyman, who had the account of this circumstance from Dr. Shaw, from a Turkey merchant who had lived at Smyrna or Aleppo, and from an English chaplain even at Leghorn.

OBSERVATION XII.

THE SUBJECT CONTINUED, WITH A FURTHER ACCOUNT OF THE RAINS IN THE EAST.

Fulcherius Carnotensis saw the cold prove deadly to many. Jacobus de Vitriaco§ informs us, that the same

* P. 437. † Midsummer. ‡ P. 408.

§ Gesta Dei per Francos, p. 1130.

thing happened to many of the poorer people, engaged in an expedition in which he himself was concerned, against Mount Tabor: they had suffered severely the preceding days by cold, but on the 24th of December it was so sharp, that many of the poor people, and of the beasts of burden, actually died. Albertus Aquensis tells us,* the same thing happened to thirty of the people that attended King Baldwin I. in the mountainous districts of Arabia by the Dead Sea, where they had to conflict with horrible hail, with ice, and unheard of snow and rain. We have sometimes, it may be, wondered that an eastern author, in an hymn composed for the use of those warmer climates, should say of GOD, *He giveth his snow like wool,*† *he scattereth the hoar frost like ashes, he casteth forth his ice like morsels: who can stand before his cold!* Psalm cxlvii. 16, 17. The preceding citations may remove that wonder.

But how do these accounts agree with Jerom's description of the Holy Land, in a letter to Marcella? Vol. iv. p. 553. "If it is summer, the shade of the trees will afford a place of retirement: if autumn, the leaves under the trees, united with the temperateness of the air, will point out a place where you may enjoy yourself in quiet. In the spring the ground is painted with flowers, and the singing of psalms will be more sweet when joined with the music of birds. If it be the time of wintry cold and snow, I will buy no wood, and yet be warmer, than you at Rome, whether sleeping or

* P. 307.

† If the snow in Judea was like what falls in some countries of the East, there is a greater energy in these words than we are aware of in common, as Sir John Chardin, in his MS. note on this passage, tells us, that toward the Black Sea, in Iberia and Armenia, and he should imagine therefore in some other countries, the snow falls in flakes as big as walnuts, but not being either hard, or very compact, it does no other hurt than presently covering and overwhelming a person. This is to us Englishmen a curiosity belonging to natural history; and if David was acquainted with such snow, he might well say, *He giveth his snow like wool*: Certainly a flake of snow as big as a walnut, would to a British eye, at a distance, appear more like a small lock of wool than what it really was.

waking. At least, I am sure, I shall guard myself from cold with less fuel."* This father lived long in that country, and, from what other travellers have observed, his testimony will appear to be worthy of credit. But I shall give here the substance of Dr. Russell's account of the weather at Aleppo which very much resembles that of Judea, by which account further light may be thrown on some preceding remarks, and I shall be enabled to propose many things yet to come, on this subject, much more advantageously than otherwise I can do.

The substance then of the Doctor's account is, "that the seasons at Aleppo are very regular. That the first rains fall about the middle of September, and greatly refresh the air, which was before extremely hot, and if the rains have been at all plentiful, though of few hours duration, they give a new face to the country, which looked before extremely barren and parched. That from the first rains to the second, the interval is at least between twenty and thirty days, and that time, the weather is temperate, serene, and extremely delightful. That after the second rains the weather is variable till May, from the end of which, if not sooner, not so much as one refreshing shower falls, and scarcely a friendly cloud appears to shelter from the excessive heat of the sun, till about the middle of September. That the verdure of the spring fades before the middle of May, and before the end of that month the whole country puts on so parched and barren an aspect, that one would scarcely think it capable of producing any thing, there being but very few plants which have vigour enough to resist the extreme heat. That the more delicate never make fires till about the end of November, and some few pass the whole winter

* Si *Æstas* est secretum arboris umbra præbebit: si *Autumnus*, ipse aeris temperies, et strata subter folia, locum quietis ostendunt. *Vere* ager floribus pingitur, et inter querulas aves psalmi dulcius cantabuntur. Si frigus fuerit et *brumales* nives, ligna non coemam, et calidius vigilabo, vel dormiam. Certè quod sciam vilius non algebo.

without them. That the trees begin to lose their leaves before the middle of that month, and the generality of them begin to be stripped then. That the natives reckon the severity of the winter, which they call Murbania, to last but forty days, beginning from the 12th of December, and ending the 20th of January; and that this computation comes in fact very near the truth. That the air during this time is excessively piercing, even to them that are but just come from a cold climate; however, that in the depth of winter, when the sun is out, and there is no wind, it is warm, nay sometimes almost hot, in the open air. That in the thirteen years that he resided there, the ice was not above three times of sufficient strength to bear a man, and this only in the shade and with using caution; and that snow, excepting three years, never laid above a day. That the narcissus is in flower during the whole of this weather, and hyacinths and violets at the latest appear before it is quite over. That as February advances, the fields, which were partly green before, now, by the springing up of the latter grain, become entirely covered with a pleasing verdure: and though the trees continue in a leafless state till the end of this month, or beginning of March, yet the almond when latest being in blossom before the middle of February, and quickly succeeded by the apricot and peach, &c. give the gardens a delightful appearance, and the spring becomes exceedingly pleasant." To this account the Doctor, in the close of the book, added a distinct description of the weather of the several months, and a still more minute history of the weather of the years 1752 and 1753, which the more curious will do well to consult. Descript. of Aleppo, vol. i. p. 63, &c.

St. Jerom then is not all rhetoric. In the depth of winter it is frequently warm, nay almost hot, in the open air; and consequently, in the interval, betwixt the fall of the leaf in November, and the coming on of the depth of winter, a recluse might enjoy himself very comfortably in

his meditations abroad. On the other hand, it is often piercingly cold from the 12th of December to the 20th of January, even to those that are lately come out of a cold climate, and this joined with great labours and fastings might easily prove fatal to those that had no tents, and were without other accommodations, as J de Vitriaco, in the Gesta Dei per Francos, affirms it did to many. Nor is it at all strange that a continual wet, and the cold on the top of mountains, should produce the same effect earlier in the year, as it seems they did, from what Fulcherius Carnotensis and Albertus Aquensis have told us; for Egmont and Heyman complain of the severity of the cold on the top of Mount Sinai,* in July or the beginning of August, the hottest time of the year.† Agreeably to this Sandys assures us, that when he was at Sidon, a Moor, who was returning with an English merchant from Damascus, perished with cold on the top of Antilibanus, while the heat was excessive in the vallies on each side.

If the rains of December are sometimes so extremely cold in the Holy Land, we shall not at all wonder when we recollect this circumstance, notwithstanding what St. Jerom has said, that the people in a public assembly held in the open air, on the 20th of the 9th month, that is some time in December, and which proved a wet time, should shudder with cold. *All the people sat in the street of the house of* God, says the sacred historian, *trembling because of this matter, and for the great rain.* Ezra x. 9.

St. Jerom himself, elsewhere, supposes the cold of that country to be frequently too severe to be borne by those that might be glad to secrete themselves for fear of their lives, for so in his letter to Algasia‡ he understands, as to the literal sense, the direction of our Lord to his disciples, to pray that their flight might not be in winter, the severity of the cold being such as would not permit them to conceal themselves in the deserts. Agreeably to this,

* Vol. ii. p. 169.

† As appears from other places of that work.

‡ Vol. iii. p. 160.

and at the same time a lively comment on these words of our LORD, is that account William of Tyre gives* of the state of Saladine's troops, after their defeat in the neighbourhood of Ascalon, which I took some notice of under the last observation, but which ought here to be more particularly set down. "They for haste threw away their armour and clothes,† but so sunk under the cold, with want of food, tediousness of the ways, and greatness of the fatigue, that they were daily taken captives in the woods, mountains, and wilderness, and sometimes threw themselves in the way of their enemies, rather than perish with cold and want." *Pray ye that your flight be not in the winter.*

OBSERVATION XIII.

MANNER IN WHICH THE COPTS SPEND THEIR LEISURE TIME, AFFORDING AN ILLUSTRATION OF EZEK. XXXIII. 30.

SEVERE however as sometimes the cold weather is in these countries, Dr. Russell observes, that even in the depth of that season when the sun is out, and there is no wind, it is warm, nay sometimes almost hot, in the open air; and Dr. Pococke informs us that the people there enjoy it, for the Coptics spend their holy days in sauntering about, and sitting under their walls in winter, and under shady trees in summer.‡

This doubtless is to be understood of those of the poorer sort, who have no places more proper for conversation with their friends; the better sort of houses in the East having porches, or gateways, according to Dr. Shaw,

* Gesta Dei per Francos, p. 1101.

† Vestium genera quælibet, not all their clothing absolutely, but their hykes and burnooes, according to Dr. Shaw's remark, page 226, which they found entangled them, and retarded their flight.

‡ Travels into the East, v. i. p. 175.

with benches on each side, where the master of the family receives visits, and despatches business, few persons, not even the nearest relations, having further admission, except upon extraordinary occasions.*

Will not these two circumstances greatly illustrate those words of Ezekiel,† *Also thou son of man, the children of thy people still are talking against thee,* or rather concerning thee, בך, *by the walls, and in the doors of the houses, and speak one to another, every one to his brother, saying, come, I pray you, and hear what is the word that cometh forth from the* LORD?

It is somewhat strange that our translators should have rendered the words *talking against thee,* when the Septuagint rendered them περι σου, *of,* or *concerning* thee; when it is the same Hebrew particle that is used Ps. lxxxvii. 3. *Glorious things are spoken of thee, O city of* GOD! and when the following words incontestably show, they were speaking honorably of Ezekiel, and indeed assuming the appearance of those Malachi mentions, in a passage where the same conjugation of the verb is used as in this of Ezekiel, *Then they that feared the* LORD, *spake often one to another, and the* LORD *hearkened, and heard it, and a book of remembrance was written before him, for them that feared the* LORD, *and that thought upon his name,* Mal. iii. 16.

It was winter, the tenth month, answering to the latter end of December, or first part of January, when these things were transacted,‡ therefore they sat under the walls for the benefit of the sun, rather than under the trees to avoid its heat, while they talked concerning Ezekiel; while persons among them in better circumstances sat in their porches or gateways.

That they use their porches or gateways in winter as well as in summer, appears from Dr. Pococke's waiting on a person of distinction in Upper Egypt, an Aga of the Janizaries, whom he found sitting, according to their cus-

* P. 207. † Ch. xxxiii. 30. ‡ Ezek. xxxiii. 21.

toms, under the gateway of his house, when he made him this visit on the 29th or 30th of December.*

The explanation of those commentators then must appear improper, who make their talking of Ezekiel by the walls and in the doors of their houses, signify the same thing with their talking of him in their public places of concourse, and in their private meetings.

As this sitting and talking under the walls is particularly practised by the Copts in their holy days, may not these words of Ezekiel be supposed also to refer to such times? and if so, will they not show that the Israelites observed their Sabbaths in the captivity? and that so early as the time of the first destruction of Jerusalem they used to assemble to the Prophets on those days, to hear if they had received any messages from the LORD in that week, and to receive those advices their calamitous circumstances made peculiarly seasonable? Those assemblies might be more ancient, but of this antiquity at least, the passage here seems to make them. Such another assembly, it may be, was that mentioned ch. viii. 1.

OBSERVATION XIV

TIME OF LIGHTING AND DISCONTINUING FIRES IN THE EAST.

DR. RUSSELL says, the most delicate at Aleppo make no fires till the end of November, but he gives no account of the time in which they are wont to leave off the use of them: it gave me pleasure then, when I observed an article in d'Herbelot, which represented the close of the month of February as putting an end, in common, to the lighting their fires for the purpose of warming themselves.

This article of the Bibliotheque Orientale is that on the word Schabath, which is in short as follows, Schabath is the name of a month of the calendar of the Syro

* Vol. i. p. 83.

Macedonians, which corresponds to our month of February. In this calendar the 2d day of the month is marked, as the feast called by the Arabs Aid Schma, which is Candlemas day. The 7th day of the month is called there *Socouth gioumrat aouel*, or the first putting out of the firebrand. The 14th is its second extinction; and the third falls on the 21st of the same month, and is reckoned the end of winter.

He adds, that the 26th of the same month of Schabath is the first of the seven days that the Arabs call Aiam agiouz, the days of the Old Man, which solemnity takes in the first days of their month of Adhar, which is our month of March.

I have in another article taken some notice of the last mentioned solemnity, and the manner in which winter is represented on that occasion; what I would observe here is, that fires for warming themselves were, according to this Syrian calendar, to be laid aside, in common, some time in this month, and, at latest, by the close of it.

This account of d'Herbelot agrees with that of the author of the history of the revolt of Ali Bey, who is a Greek, and who, in conversation, casually observed that spring is reckoned to begin February 17, O. S.

It gave me the more pleasure when I found this enlarged account of Schabath in d'Herbelot, as many of the other months of the Syro Macedonian calendar are barely mentioned by him, without any distinctive notes of a philosophical or economical nature.

OBSERVATION XV.

COLDNESS OF SPRING AND SUMMER NIGHTS, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE CLOTHING OF THE EASTERN PEOPLE.

King Jehoiakim is described as sitting in his winter house, in the ninth month, which answers to the latter end of November and part of December, *with a fire burning upon the hearth before him*, Jer. xxxvi. 22. This

answers to Russell's account, who says, the most delicate make no fires till the end of November.

How long they continue the use of them he does not say, but we know, from other hands, that they continue to use them in Judea far into the spring :* Bp. Pococke, set out† for Jerusalem on the 17th of March in the evening, and was conducted by an Arab guide to his tent, which was two or three miles off; there he was treated with bread and coffee, he, the Arab's wife, and some other people, he tells us, sitting by a fire. He goes further, for he says,‡ that in the night of the 8th of May the Sheikh of Sephoury, a place in Galilee, made them a fire, in a ruined little building, and sent them boiled milk, eggs, and coffee: the fire therefore was not designed for the preparing their food, but for the warming them. No wonder then that the people who went to Gethsemane, to apprehend our LORD, thought a fire of coals a considerable refreshment at the time of the Passover,§ which must have been earlier in the year than the 8th of May, though it might be considerably later than the 17th of March.¶

It may not be amiss to add, that as they use fires against the cold of their winters, they also use furred garments very frequently, in these countries, on account of the cold, which is a circumstance that, I believe, must occasion a good deal of surprise to many of my readers.

So Dr. Russell informs us, that the vests that are worn by well dressed people, in the spring or autumn, are not

* On this passage, I found the following note in a copy of this work in the *hand writing* of the late *Dr. Russell:*

Generally in *March*, that is, the Europeans. The people of the country seldom longer than *February;* but fires are occasionally made in the *wet seasons*, not only in *March*, but in *April* also; and would be acceptable at the *gardens* sometimes even in *May*. EDIT.

† Vol. ii. p. 5. ‡ P. 62. § John xviii. 18.

¶ Dr. Russell, MS. note, says, the nights in that season are often *very cold*, and of this, people are rendered more sensible by the *heats* of the *day*. In May, June, and even July, travellers very often put on furs in the evening. EDIT.

unfrequently lined with short haired furs, as sable, ermin, squirrel, &c. and that the robe which constitutes a full dress in the winter, is lined with long haired fur, such as is taken from the ounce, foxes of different kinds, &c.* Some of them also sleep in winter in their furs.†

As in collecting their prey, the Israelites were wont to gather together what was most valuable and magnificent,‡ it is not impossible that things made of skins, mentioned Numb. xxxi. 20, might mean such kind of dresses; but I cannot by any means persuade myself, with Sir J Chardin in his MS. that when Solomon says, *the lambs are for thy clothing*, Prov. xxvii. 26, he had any reference to those furs that are sometimes taken from lambs in the East, and which are greatly esteemed: "In cold countries, says that writer, furs are greatly made use of, the richest of the country, and the most precious are those of lambs: some of them are small frizzled skins, very rich, of which the most beautiful are valued as high as fifteen francs, and are taken from lambs not above two months old at most."

The account is amusing, but has no relation, I think, to this passage of Solomon, or any other place of Holy Writ. Lambs were the clothing of Israel, as they furnished them with wool, to be manufactured into cloth for their wearing.

OBSERVATION XVI.

SEVERITY OF THE EASTERN WINTERS, FROST, RAIN, &c. COMMENT ON CANT. II. 11, 12, 13.

It appears therefore that one part of the winter is distinguished from the rest of it by the people of the Levant, on account of the severity of the cold, and which we may call the depth of their winters.

* Vol. i. p. 102, note. Which description is followed by an instructive copperplate, relating to dresses.

† P. 90.

‡ See Josh. vii. 21.

Frosts in Egypt, according to Egmont and Heyman,* are chiefly between the seventh and fourteenth of February, those seven days constituting, they say, the whole winter in Egypt, and it might be imagined the depth of winter elsewhere is at the same time; but this is not the account of Dr. Russell, for he tells us that the severity of the cold begins at Aleppo about the 12th of December. It seems to do the same in the Holy Land, for Albertus Aquensis says, that Godfrey of Jerusalem, after having besieged the city of Assur some time, upon the beginning of the severity of the winter, despaired of taking it, and returned to Jerusalem, in the middle of the month of December.† At Aleppo it lasts about 40 days, and is called by the natives murbania. I do not know how long it lasts in Judea. St. Jerom I find,‡ speaks of February as part of the sharpest time of winter, but whether with the accuracy of a natural philosopher, may be much questioned, as he is giving a mystical turn to the name of the month in that place, and persons of that complexion are ordinarily more solicitous to complete an allegory, than to deliver facts with precision. However it appears, that at Aleppo one part of the winter is distinguished from the rest of it by the severity of the cold, and has among the natives a distinct name; the Gesta Dei per Francos speaks of the like difference in Judea; may we not believe it had a distinct name among the Jews too? And I would propose it to the consideration of the learned, whether the word חסתו *hassetav*, which is used Cant. ii. 11, and translated there winter, may not be understood to mean what the inhabitants of Aleppo express by the term murbania? It occurs no where else in the Old Testament, and another word is used for the rainy part of the year in general.

* Vol. ii. p. 214, 215.

† Gesta Dei per Francos. p. 295. Eò quòd civitas Assur, hoc tempore *gravissimæ* hyemis incohante, præ frigore et nive insuperabilis haberetur, Jerusalem Decembri mense mediato redit.

‡ In Com. in Zach. Est in *acerrimo* tempore hyemis.

If this thought be admitted, it will greatly illustrate the words of the Bridegroom, *Lo, the winter is passed, the rain is over and gone:* for then the last clause will not be explanatory of the first, and signify that the moist part of the year was entirely past, along with which, Dr. Russell assures us, all pleasantness withdraws from Aleppo; but the words will import, the murbania is past and over, and the weather become agreeably warm, the rain too is just ceased, and consequently hath left us the prospect of several days of serenity and undisturbed pleasantness, the weather of Judea in this respect being, I presume, like that at Algiers, where, after two or three days of rain, there is usually, according to Dr. Shaw, a week, a fortnight, or more, of fair and good weather. Of such a sort of cessation of rain alone the Bridegroom, methinks, is here to be understood, not of the absolute termination of the rainy season, and the summer's *drought* being come on: and if so, what can that time that was past mean but the *murbania?*

And indeed Dr. Russell, in giving us an account of the excursions of the English merchants at Aleppo, &c. has undesignedly furnished us with a good comment on this and the two following verses.* These gentlemen, it seems, dine abroad under a tent in spring and autumn on Saturdays and Wednesdays. They do the same during the good weather in winter; but they live at the gardens in April and part of May In the heat of summer they dine at the gardens, instead of under the tent; that is, I suppose, once or twice a week they dine under a tent in autumn and spring. The cold weather is not supposed by Solomon to have been long over, since it is distinctly mentioned, and the inhabitants of Aleppo make their excursions very early. The narcissus flowers during the whole of the murbania; hyacinths and violets at latest before it is quite over;† the appearing of flowers then does not mean the appearing of the first and earliest flowers,

* Vol. i. p. 49. Vol. ii. p. 17. † Vol. i. p. 70.

but must rather be understood of the earth's being covered with them, which at Aleppo is not till after the middle of February, a small crane's bill appearing on the banks of the river there about the middle of February, quickly after which comes a profusion of flowers. And in another place* he tells us, that the nightingales, which are there in abundance, not only afford much pleasure by their songs in the gardens, but are also kept tame in the houses, and let out at a small rate to divert such as choose it in the city, so that no entertainments are made in the spring without a consort of these birds;† no wonder then that Solomon makes the Bridegroom speak of the singing of birds, and it teaches us what these birds are, which are expressly distinguished from turtle doves.

OBSERVATION XVII.

DAYS INTENSELY HOT, SUCCEEDED BY EXCESSIVELY COLD NIGHTS.

I HAVE in the preceding Observations shown, that those that dwell at present in the Holy Land, continue the use of fires to warm them, far on in the year; I would now make it appear, that it is not without reason that they practise this.

In the 1st chapter, I produced some citations from Bp. Pococke's Travels, which showed that an Arab had a fire in the tent, in which he was entertained, the night of the 17th of March; and that a fire was made for his use by one of the Sheikhs of Galilee, so late as the 8th of May. This may appear to us surprising, but it is confirmed in part by Doubdan; and the reason of it is clearly explained by him, as to the whole of it.

* Vol. ii. p. 206.

† Thevenot going to Jordon, April 16, found the little woods on the banks of the river, filled with nightingales in full song. This, says Dr. Russell, MS. note, is rather earlier than at *Aleppo* where they do not come till nearly the *end* of the month. EDIT.

Doubdan travelling in the evening of the 28th of March, N.S. from Jaffa, or Joppa, to Rama, tells us he passed near two or three companies of Arabs, "who were watching their flocks, making a great noise, singing and rejoicing about many fires which they had made in the plain, and a number of dogs, who, perceiving our being near to them, did not cease from growling, barking, and giving us apprehension of being discovered, and falling into the hands of these robbers."*

Perhaps it may be thought that these fires, and all this noise, might be made to intimidate beasts of prey, which they might be apprehensive were about, and watching an opportunity of making depredations on their flocks; it is possible it might be so. The warmth however of these fires must have been comfortable to themselves, who were watching in the open air, since Doubdan complains of his lodging that night at Rama, where the procurator of the Holy Land did not treat them with the greatest tenderness, "but contented himself with putting us into a miserable room, where there were only the four walls, giving us nothing but a mat to lie upon, a stone for a pillow, and no coverlid but the broken ceiling, which exposed us to the weather, which was not the most favourable at that season, as the nights are always extremely cool."† Yet the heat of the preceding day was so great, that it was assigned as one reason why they waited some hours at Joppa, in a poor Greek hovel, before they set out for Rama.‡

But the account he gives of his situation at Tyre, is much stronger still. On the 16th of May they found the heat near Tyre so great, that though it seems they took their repast on the grass, under a large tree, by the side of a small river,§ yet he complains of their being burnt up alive, and they were obliged to continue in that situation until six or seven in the afternoon, when they returned to

* Voy. de la Terre Sainte, p. 42.

† P. 43. ‡ P. 46. § P. 531.

their bark; but the wind failing, and the seamen not to be persuaded to row, they could get no further than the rocks and ruins of Tyre, when night overtook them.* Near those ruins they were obliged to pass a considerable part of the night, not without suffering greatly from the cold, which was as violent and sharp as the heat of the day had been burning. He goes on, "I am sure I shook as in the depth of winter, more than two or three full hours;" to which he adds, their being quite wetted with a rime extremely thick and cold, which fell upon them all night. To this he subjoins,† that the worst was, that they were in the hands of four or five fishermen, who did nothing but throw their nets into the sea, often with no success, in the meanwhile roasting us in the day time in the sun, and almost making us to perish with cold in the night, without at all getting forward.

This was at Tyre, which, if not to be reckoned in the limits of the Holy Land, is but just out of them;‡ and was in the night between the 16th and 17th of May. A fire in the night then, in the middle of May, might be very requisite, and highly acceptable. The complaint made by Jacob, relating to Mesopotamia, being equally applicable to the Holy Land: *In the day the drought consumed me, and the frost by night.*§

The very different managements, occasioned by the great difference in the temperature of the air in the day and in the night season, may occasion some perplexity in the minds of common readers undoubtedly, since it has done so in the thoughts of some of the learned, and is therefore a circumstance that ought to be well fixed in the memory.

Thus Mr. Biddulph, chaplain to the English factory at Aleppo, expresses his surprise at finding the weather so warm at Jerusalem, at that same time of the year that he was there, when those that had been out in the night to

* P. 552. † P. 540, and 541. ‡ Soe Josh. xix. 29

§ Gen. xxxi. 40.

seize our LORD, wanted a fire. "We being there at the same season of the year, found it exceeding hot, and hotter than it is usually at Midsummer in England. It seemed strange to me, how it should then be so cold that Peter should creep to the fire, and now, at the same season, so hot that we could not endure the heat of the sun; but after we had been there a few days, the very place resolved the doubt."*

The extinction then of fires in the month Schabath, mentioned in a preceding article, is to be understood only to relate to the day time, not to those that sit up all night, or far into the night, they may in that country itself want a fire in the middle of May, while, in common, fires may be left off by the end of February, it growing warm in the day time by the end of that month, generally speaking, but the nights being very cold, at least in some places in or near the Holy Land, for some months after.

OBSERVATION XVIII.

EASTERN SPRINGS MUCH EARLIER THAN THOSE IN THE WEST.

IT appears also, from a circumstance mentioned by Sandys, that severe as the winters about Jerusalem sometimes are, yet it is certainly true that they are forwarder there than we are in England, about two months in the spring. For Sandys, it seems, found roses growing wild, and in plenty, in the close of March, O.S.† as he was travelling in that part of Judea, where it is supposed John the Baptist lived, not far from Jerusalem; whereas, June is the common time with us for the blossoming of the rose, and

* For he found it cold, by experience, when he slept in the fields all night. Collect. of Voy. and Trav. from the Library of the Earl of Oxford, p. 821, vol. i.

† Two or three days, it should seem, before the month ended, and consequently about the 8th of April, N.S. he mentions his passing "through vallies, of their roses voluntarily plentiful."

particularly of those that grow wild in our hedges, which come into flower about the same time those species do that are cultivated in our gardens.

What is nearly a confirmation of this, may be found in Doubdan's Journey to the Holy Land; for, speaking of his coming out of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, at Jerusalem, on the 21st of April, N.S. or 10th, O.S. he says, "Many Turks and Moors were in the court yard, of whom some presented them with nosegays of small flowers, others with roses fresh gathered; others who had bottles of rosewater, sprinkled their faces and clothes with it: all to get some maidins from them."* These roses continued to blow in such plenty in April, that he tells us, that on the 28th of that month, when the eastern christians made one of their processions in that church, which lasted at least two hours, many men attended it with sacks full of leaves of roses, which they threw by great handsful on the people, and indeed in such prodigious quantities, as that many were quite covered with them, and the pavement all strewed over. There were also others with bottles of rosewater, which they threw every where upon people's faces and clothes, with inexpressible rejoicing.†

It may be remarked, that as roses were so extremely plentiful, they could not be the earliest of that country, but had been some time in blossom. Accordingly, he observes, that on the 15th of April he found in an old nunnery at Jerusalem, now converted into a mosque, a number of small odoriferous shrubs, such as rosemary, rosebushes, laurels, jasmines, and other flowers extremely pleasant.‡ This implies that the rosebushes were in flower, and also the jasmine, which, though its flowers are contemporary with roses, yet does not, I think, begin to blossom quite so soon as the rosebush.

So then both the rosebush and the jasmine furnish additional proofs, that at Jerusalem they are six weeks or two months earlier, as to the spring, than we are.

* P. 261. † P. 351. ‡ P. 225.

May we suppose, that as roseleaves now are the things that are made use of, to strew the pavement about the sepulchre of our LORD, they were used in that procession that almost immediately preceded his death, of which the evangelists have given an account, particularly St. Mark and St. Matthew? *Many spread their garments in the way, and others cut down branches off the trees, and strawed,* them, *in the way.** If rosebushes grew there, on Mount Olivet, they might very naturally cut off branches full of roses, and shaking them, strew the path of our LORD with the beautiful, but untenacious leaves of those flowers. The word *them*, in our version, which seems to refer to the branches themselves, it is to be remembered, is not in the original, but a supplement of our translators.

OBSERVATION XIX.

VIOLENT INUNDATIONS FREQUENT IN THE EAST.

ONE of the particulars of Jacobus de Vitriaco's description of the weather of the Holy Land, which appears under the first of these Observations is, that though the returns of rain in the winter are not extremely frequent, yet that when it does rain, the water is wont to pour down with great violence three or four days and nights together, enough to drown the whole country.†

Such violent rains, in an hilly country especially, as Judea is known to be, must occasion inundations very dangerous to buildings that happen to be placed within their reach, by washing away the soil from under them, and occasioning their fall; to some such events our LORD must certainly be understood to refer, in Luke vi. 48.‡

* Mark xi. 8. Matth. xxi. 8. † Vide Gesta Dei, p. 1098.

‡ The violent rains, says Dr. Russell, MS. note, often wash down *stone walls* at Aleppo; and a remarkable instance happened in the Castravan Mountains, A.D. of a hamlet with fig garden, &c. being removed suddenly to a great distance. EDIT.

The time that those that have published their travels into this country have stayed in it, has been so short, and their opportunities for observing so limited, that it is no wonder we meet with no accounts of such inundations in their writings; but we may easily learn, from what has fallen out in other countries, what must have happened in this, especially in those times in which it was fully inhabited, when the houses must have been frequently built in places not so well chosen, as well as in those that were more commodious.

An account of an inundation from a violent shower of rain in Yorkshire, published in the sixth volume of the Abridgment of the Philosophical Transactions,* may readily be believed to give a very true account of what must have happened, from time to time in Judea. A beck, it seems, in that hilly country, was suddenly raised two yards at least, in a perpendicular height, above what was usual. Several houses, mills, and bridges, were thrown down, and several people drowned. Seven out of eight in one house were either slain by the fall of it, or drowned. The rapidness of the torrent was so violent, that it took down the side of a chapel, tore up the dead out of their graves, and swept away all the corn land, as deep as the plough had gone.† Thus we find that the fall of a house by the beating of the stream against it, mentioned in the sixth of Luke, when floods were up, occasioned by rain,‡ is strongly illustrated by what happened in our own country, as related in these Transactions.

To this may be added, that Maundrell actually saw the tracts of several torrents, down the side of the hills of the Holy Land.§ He also describes that country as extremely rocky, but covered frequently with a thin coat of earth:¶ circumstances which complete the illustration of

* Second part, pp. 58, 59.

† See the preceding note from Dr. Russell. EDIT.

‡ See Matt. vii. 25—27. § P. 57. ¶ P. 6.

this allusion of our LORD, and teach us how to understand building on the sand, or loose soil; and the wise man's digging down to the rock, before he laid the foundation of his building.

Other writers* have taken notice of the rockiness of this country, and of its being frequently covered with a shallow coat of earth.

It is more than possible our LORD might have some village in view, when he spoke these words, which was known to have suffered a calamity of this kind: but if not, such events were too frequent among them, we may believe, not to make them feel great energy in his words.

The account Sir John Chardin gives of these countries in a note in one of his manuscripts on Luke vii. 48, confirms what has been said above with great energy: there he tells us, that floods are uncommon in the East, there being few rivers, but that there are great inundations here and there, for want of channels to receive the water.

OBSERVATION XX.

TIME OF THE EARLY AND LATTER RAINS.

WHERE the rain falls indiscriminately through the whole year, as it does with us, there is no notion of former and latter rains; but nothing is more natural than this distinction in such a country as Palestine.

The summer's drought at Aleppo usually terminates, according to Dr. Russell, in September, by some heavy showers, which continue sometimes, as appears, by his more particular description of the weather, some days; after which, there is an interval of fine weather of between twenty and thirty days, when showers again fall, which he calls the second rains. It is natural to suppose those first showers should be called the former rain, and accordingly all sorts of authors concur in this, the Targumists

* Egmont and Heyman, Vol. i. p. 388, &c.

anciently, the later Talmudical doctors, and Christian writers. Lightfoot, however, it seems,* has found out one Rabbi, who supposes the rain of the spring is the former rain, and the autumnal the latter rain, and he himself expresses great uncertainty about it in that passage; and in another tract† he directly affirms that the Feast of Tabernacles was about the time of the latter rains. Lightfoot cites Joel ii. 23, in support of this opinion, than which nothing could be more inconclusive, as it is well known that the month next after the vernal equinox is as often, at least, called in the Scriptures the *first month*, as that next after the autumnal. I shall have occasion to show, in a few lines, that this same passage of Joel is very unhappily cited by an author,‡ much more accurate in these matters than Lightfoot. It is, however, less to be wondered at that Lightfoot should look upon the rains of autumn as the latter rain, since he supposed, as I have elsewhere remarked, that it rained in Judea only at the equinoxes; and consequently, about as many months of drought preceded the spring rains, according to him, as those of autumn. He wanted, therefore, an important datum to determine this point. But as this is certainly a mistake, and all the winter is more or less wet, the rains of autumn must be those that are called the former rain, being the first that come after a long suspension of showers.

The time when these first rains fall in Judea is the next thing to be considered. At Aleppo it is usually between the 15th and 25th of September, O. S. It is later in Judea, according to Dr. Shaw, who must have ascertained this point by inquiring of the inhabitants of that country about it, since there is no Scripture from whence he attempts to deduce it, as he does the time of the latter rain, though very untowardly: the beginning of November, according to him,§ is the time of the first descent of rain in the Holy Land.

* Vol. ii. p. 409. † Vol. i. p. 978. ‡ Dr. Shaw.

§ P. 335.

The seasons are exceedingly regular in the East, as Dr. Russell observes, but it is not to be imagined that the rains of autumn come to a day: he tells us, on the contrary, that sometimes all September, in which month the first rains usually fall at Aleppo, is dry and sultry. Dr. Shaw in like manner informs us, that the first rains of Barbary fall, in some years, in September; in others, a month later. The accounts of these gentlemen are much more credible than those of the Jewish doctors cited by Lightfoot,* who represent the first rains as falling on the 17th day of the month Marheshvan, the second rains on the 23d, and the third in the beginning of the month Chisleu; and of those Rabbies mentioned by him elsewhere,† of whom one affirmed, the first rain began on the 3d of Marheshvan, the middle rain on the 7th, the last on the 17th; and the other, that they fell out on the 7th, the 17th, and the 21st of that month. No wonder they differ in their accounts, since this precision must be imaginary.

These Rabbies are the only writers I ever observed, who speak of the third rains; but Dr. Russell mentions the first and the second so currently, that one would imagine it an ancient distinction; and it is natural to pause and consider, whether these are the former and latter rains so often mentioned in the Scriptures.

It is certain the former and latter rains have not commonly been so understood; nor were they so by St. Jerom, who lived long in that country. On the other hand, they that have written concerning the natural history of these countries, make no particular distinction betwixt any rains but these, the rest falling undistinguished in the winter months, without any thing of order, or remarkableness, so far as I have been able to make out.

In order to settle this point, it may be proper to observe, that rain in the spring is represented as of great advantage. "The more wet the spring," says Russell,

* Vol. ii. p. 185. † P. 391.

"the later the harvest, and the more plentiful the crop;" and in Barbary it may be even necessary. The words of Dr. Shaw seem to me to imply this, "If the latter rains fall as usual, in the middle of April; the crop is reckoned secure:" for is not this in other terms saying, they think it in danger, if they have not these late rains? The late rains, then, are of great consequence, as well as the autumnal, and, consequently, might be represented, Prov. xvi. 15, as extremely precious.* To this it is to be added, that the words translated the *former and latter rains*, are not words expressive of first and second, or such words as are used Dan. xi. 29, to express the former and the latter coming of the king of Syria against the king of Egypt: they do not, then, appear to be equivalent to first and second rains, but to mark out two important sorts of rain, and as the spring rains are undoubtedly of great consequence to make a plentiful harvest, and the latter rains have been almost universally understood to mean them, it seems requisite to acquiesce in that interpretation.

An argument, however, that is commonly made use of in proof that the latter rain means that of the spring, and which may appear to many to be decisive, is of no validity at all: I mean the words of the prophet Joel, *He will cause to come down for you the rain, the former rain, and the latter rain in the first month*, ch. ii. 23, for this passage is no ways to the purpose, if the translation of the Seventy be admitted, who instead of rendering the words the former rain and the latter rain in the first month, suppose the words signify he will rain upon you the former and the latter rain as aforetime, as at first. St. Jerom understands the passage in the same sense, though he believed the latter rains were those of the spring. Nor is the word *month* in the original.

* The early and latter rain יורה ומלקוש *Yoreh u malkosh*, is mentioned Deut. xi. 14, and Hos. vi. 3. The word *yoreh* may signify the rain which falls in Judea about the middle of October, their seed time; and *malkosh*, that which falls about the middle of April, a little before their harvest.

Nevertheless, our version has had that effect upon the very ingenious Dr. Shaw, that having spoken* of the falling rains in Barbary in the middle of April, he says, "In the Holy Land we find they were a month sooner," and immediately cites Joel ii. 23, in confirmation of it. This is a strange slip in the Doctor. In the first place, there is no dependence on this text at all, the Septuagint and St. Jerom understand it otherwise, and he himself elsewhere† affirms they fall sometimes in the middle, sometimes toward the latter end of April. And secondly, admitting our translation, it does not follow that the rains of Barbary hold longer than those of the Holy Land, since the middle of April falls almost perpetually within the Jewish month Abib or Nisan, even without those extraordinary intercalations the Doctor speaks of, and‡ with them must do it always. That the rains there do hold till after the middle of April at least, appears from Thevenot, who speaks of rain on the 16th of April, and says, the morning of the 17th was very wet, as he journeyed from Jordan to Jerusalem.

Scriptures of this sort are therefore to be explained by facts; and it is very wrong when on the contrary we pretend to determine facts by our conjectural interpretations of Scripture. Mr. Lowth agrees with the substance of this observation, but we have reason to think he is not perfectly accurate; when he supposes§ the former rain came just after sowing time, to make the seed take root, as the latter rain did just before harvest, to plump and fill the ears. The Arabs of Barbary breaking up their grounds after¶ the first rains in order to sow wheat, and the sowing barley and planting lentils, is a fortnight, three weeks, and sometimes more than a month later; and the first rains falling at Aleppo in the middle of September, whereas their ploughing does not begin until the latter end of that month.

* P. 137. † P. 355. ‡ Ibid.

§ In his Com. on Jer. vi. 24. ¶ Shaw, p. 137.

OBSERVATION XXI.

TIME OF HARVEST, AND NECESSITY OF THE LATTER RAINS TO BRING IT TO MATURITY.

St. Jerom's explanation of Amos iv. 7, 8, is to be added, I am afraid, to the foregoing instances of mistake which I have mentioned. *Also I have withholden the rain from you, when there were yet three months to the harvest, and I caused it to rain upon one city, and caused it not to rain upon another city; one piece was rained upon, and the piece whereupon it rained not, withered. So two or three cities wandered unto one city to drink water, but they were not satisfied, &c.* That is, according to Jerom, God withheld the rain commonly called the latter rain, which is extremely necessary to the thirsty fields of Palestine, for the corn when it begins to be ready to disclose the ear, lest it should wither; he withheld the rain of the latter end of April, from which to wheat harvest there are three months, May, June, and July.

I allow the rains of April were of consequence to the corn. "If the latter rains fall in the middle of April, the crop is reckoned secure," says Shaw; but the Prophet has before, in the 6th v. taken notice of the failing of corn, these verses then apparently refer to the withholding those rains that filled their reservoirs of water for drinking, and our translators should have used the term *dried up*, I presume, or something of that sort, instead of *withered*.* Jerom mistook the case, then, in this explanation. Nor can I easily believe that their wheat harvest was delayed to the close of July; at present, at Aleppo, barley harvest commences about the beginning of May; and the wheat, as well as that, is generally over by the 20th.† In Barbary it comes at the latter end of

* As they did in translating the same word, Job xiv. 11, 1 Kings xvii. 7, &c.

† Russell, vol. i. p. 74. On this place Dr. Russell remarks in a MS note, that the harvest in Judea is earlier than at Aleppo. Edit.

May, or beginning of June, according to the quality of the preceding seasons.* Agreeably to this, Raimond de Agiles† informs us, that a great part of their harvest at Ramula was gathered in before the 6th of June in the year 1099, for on that day, he and the Christian army arrived before Jerusalem, having passed through Ramula in their way, where they found most of their harvest over. This father talks of a case quite different from what the Prophet refers to; and I am afraid contradicts facts besides, in his explanation.

It is somewhat hard, I acknowledge, not to admit the authority of St. Jerom, who lived so long in those countries, as to the time of harvest; but he himself in this very passage, gives us the liberty of supposing great men may be guilty of oscitancy in matters of this sort, for he tells us, the translators of the Septuagint, who were as well acquainted with these countries, we may believe, as he, put *the vintage* here in their version, instead of *harvest*, which, he says, if admitted, would suppose such a state of things as is unwonted, yea, impossible, in the countries of the East; for never have we seen rain in these Provinces, continues he, and especially in Judea, in the end of June, or in the month of July; and to no purpose would God threaten drought in a season in which he had never given rain.

He goes on, and says that God suspended the rain, not only to punish them with want of bread, but with *thirst*, for that in those countries, in which he then resided, excepting a few fountains, they had only *cistern water*, so that if the divine anger suspended the rains, there was more danger of perishing by *thirst* than by *famine*.‡ This

* Shaw, p. 137. † Gesta Dei per Francos, p. 173.

‡ Prohibui a vobis imbrem, quum adhuc superessent tres menses usque ad messem, quæ appellatur *pluvia serotina*; et agris Palæstinæ arvisque sitientibus vel maximè necessaria est: ut quando herba turgeret in messem, et triticum parturiret, nimia siccitate aresceret. Significat autem vernum tempus extremi mensis Aprilis, a quo usque ad messem frumenti tres menses supersunt: Maius, Junius, Julius. Pro קָצִיר id est, messe, Septua-

is coming to the point, and is the thing to which alone the Prophet refers in these two verses, and might have cleared the whole. The Prophet, it is allowed by St. Jerom himself, does speak of the *filling the cisterns* of that country with water, and when is that usually done? If the authority of Dr. Shaw may be admitted, it is in the month of February. "It is an observation," says the Doctor, "at or near Jerusalem, that provided a moderate quantity of snow falls in the beginning of February, whereby the fountains are made to overflow a little afterward, there is the prospect of a fruitful and plentiful year: the inhabitants making, upon these occasions, the like rejoicings with the Egyptians upon the cutting of the Nile," p. 335. They are the snow and the rains then of the beginning of February that fill their reservoirs of water, and make them overflow; these are particularly remarked, and their descent occasions great rejoicings; and February is just three months before the harvest begins at Aleppo. I must think therefore that the expostulation of GOD, by Amos, must refer to his withholding the rains of February, not of the latter end of April; and as St Jerom has corrected the Septuagint, we may venture to correct St. Jerom. The interpretation of the Septuagint implies the frequency of rain in June or July, contrary to fact; St. Jerom's that harvest did not come on till the end of July, which equally contradicts experience and Scripture; and what adds to the strangeness of the mistake is, that Jerom applies chiefly to the harvest, what apparently refers solely to the filling their reservoirs of water, and under-

ginta suo more τρυγητον, id est, *vindemiam* transtulerunt: quod si recipimus, omnino juxta orientis omnes regiones et insolitum et impossibile est. Nunquam enim in fine mensis Junii, sive in mense Julio, in his provinciis, maximeque in Judæa, pluvias vidimus—Et superfluum erat nunc comminari mensis Julii siccitatem, in quo numquam pluvias dederat. Prohibuit autem imbrem ut non solum indigentiam panum, sed et sitis ardorem et bibendi penuriam sustinerent. In his enim locis, in quibus nunc degimus, præter parvos fontes, omnes cisternarum aquæ sunt; et si imbres divina ira suspenderit, majus sitis quam famis periculum est. Hieron. Opera. vol. iii. col. 1400. Edit. Martinay.

stands the rains of the Prophet of those that have nothing to do with filling their cisterns, though those rains of the Prophet must have been as celebrated as those of April, and probably more so, for however useful the rains of *April* may be, it is from those of *February* that they derive their hopes of a fruitful year.

No one ought, I apprehend, to make any difficulty of Dr. Shaw's describing snow as the cause of the overflowing of their fountains, whereas the Prophet speaks of filling their cisterns with rain, since the temperature of the air is so very different in different places of this country; that will be snow in a cold place which would be rain in a warmer; snow at Jerusalem which is very cold, while it was rain that filled their cisterns elsewhere. So Josephus speaks* of rain as filling their reservoirs.

Egmont and Heyman mention† those rejoicings that Dr. Shaw speaks of, but they do not take notice of the time of them. "When we were there," at Nehemiah's pit, or well, "the water in it was very low; though sometimes it overflows in such a manner as to lay the vale under water, which occasions great rejoicings among the Turks and Arabians, as being a certain prognostic of a very plentiful year."

OBSERVATION XXII.

TIMES OF DROUGHT; CURIOUS PROCESSION OF THE CHRISTIANS AT SIDON, TO OBTAIN RAIN.

By a passage of la Roque,‡ it appears, that if the usual rains have failed in the spring, it is of great benefit to have a copious shower, though very late: for he tells us, that when he arrived at Sidon, in the end of June, it had not rained there for many months, and that the earth was so extremely dry, that the cotton plants, and the

* Vide Antiq. Jud. l. xiv. c. 14. De Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 7.

† Vol. i. p. 378. ‡ Voy. de Syrie, &c. tome 1. p. 8, &c.

mulberry trees, which make the principal riches of that country, were in a sad condition, and all other things suffered in proportion, so that a famine was feared, which is generally followed with a pestilence. He then tells us, that all the sects of religion which lived there had, in their various ways, put up public prayers for rain, and that at length on the very day that the Mohammedans made a solemn procession out of the city, in the way of supplicating for mercy, all on a sudden the air thickened, and all the marks of an approaching storm appeared, and the rain descended in such abundance, that all those that attended the procession got back to the city with considerable difficulty, and in disorder. He adds, that the rain continued all that day, and part of the night, which perfected the revival of the plants, and the saving of the productions of the earth.

La Roque is evidently embarrassed with this fall of the rain just at the time the Mohammedans were presenting their supplications, when neither the solemn prayers of the Greek Bishop, nor those of the Latin Monks, nor even the exposing of the Host for many days, had been thus honored: "At last," said he, "Heaven, which bestows its favours, when and how it pleases, and who causes it to rain on the unjust and the infidel, permitted so great an abundance of rain to fall," &c. But there certainly was no occasion for any such disquietude, there was no dispute which religion was most excellent involved in this transaction, nor does any thing more appear in it than this, that God, the universal parent, having at length been sought to by all, showered down his mercies upon all. But the intention of these papers leads me to remarks of a different kind.

This author does not tell us when this rain fell, which is to be regretted, and the more so, as he is often exact in less important matters. However, it could not be before the end of June, N.S. for he did not arrive at

Sidon until then;* and it could not be so late as the usual time of the descent of the autumnal rains, for the cotton is ripe in September,† until the middle of which month those rains seldom fall, often later, and this rain is supposed to have been of great service to the growing cotton; consequently, these general prayers for rain could not refer to autumnal showers, but a late spring rain, which probably happened soon after his arrival, or about the time that Dr. Russell tells us those severe thunder showers fell at Aleppo, which I have before taken notice of, that is, about the beginning of July, O.S. And though the harvest must have been over at Sidon by the time this gentleman arrived there, and they had, therefore, nothing then to hope or to fear for as to that, yet as the people of those countries depend so much on garden stuff, the inspissated juice of grapes, figs, olives, &c. they might be apprehensive of a scarcity as to these too, which they might hope to prevent by this late rain.

For the like reason such a rain must have been extremely acceptable in the days of David.‡ And it must have been more so, if it came a good deal earlier, though we must believe it to have been after all expectations of it in the common way were over: and such an one, I suppose, was granted. Dr. Delany indeed, in his Life of David, tells us, that the Rabbins suppose the descendants of Saul hanged from March, from the first days of the barley harvest, to the following October, and he seems to approve their sentiments. Dr. Shaw mentions§ this affair only cursorily; however, he appears to have imagined that they hanged until the rainy season came in course. But surely we may much better suppose it was such a rain as la Roque speaks of, or one rather earlier. The ground Delany goes upon is a supposition, that the bodies that were hanged up before the LORD, hung until

* P. 5. † See Pococke's Desc. of the East, v. ii. p. 61.

‡ 2 Sam. xxi. 10. § P. 136.

the flesh was wasted from the bones, which he thinks is affirmed in the 13th verse of that chapter; but, I must confess, no such thing appears to be affirmed there; the bodies of Saul and his sons, it is certain, hanged but a very little while on the wall of Bethshan before the men of Jabesh Gilead removed them, which yet are called bones, *They took their bones and buried them*, 1 Sam. xxxi. 13, the seven sons of Saul then might hang a very little time in the days of King David. And if it should be imagined that the flesh of Saul was consumed by fire, verse 12, and so the word bones came to be used in the account of their interment, can any reason be assigned why we should not suppose these bodies were treated after the same manner? But it appears that the word *bones* frequently means the same thing with *corpse*, which circumstance also totally invalidates this way of reasoning: so the embalmed body of Joseph is called his *bones*, Gen. l. 25, 26, and Exod. xiii. 19; so the lying prophet terms his body, just become breathless, his bones, *When I am dead, then bury me in the sepulchre wherein the man of* GOD *is buried, lay my bones beside his bones*, 1 Kings xiii. 31. So Josephus* tells us that Simon removed the bones of his brother Jonathan the high priest, who was slain by Tryphon when he was departing out of that country, though Simon seems to have removed the body as soon as might be after Tryphon's retirement.

Such a late spring rain would have been attended, as the rain at Sidon was, with many advantages; and coming after all hope of common rain was over, and presently following the death of these persons on the other hand, would be a much more merciful management of PROVIDENCE, and a much nobler proof that the execution was the appointment of GOD, and not a political stratagem of David, than the passing of six months over without any rain at all, and then its falling only in the common track of things.

* Antiq. xiii. 6.

This explanation also throws light on the closing part of this story, *And after that* GOD *was entreated for the land.* Dr. Delany seems to suppose that the performing these funeral rites was requisite to the appeasing GOD: but could that be the meaning of the clause? Were the ignominy of a death the law of Moses pronounced accursed, and the honor of a royal funeral, both necessary mediums of appeasing the Almighty? Is it not a much easier interpretation of this clause, The rain that dropped on these bodies was a great mercy to the country, and the return of the rains in due quantities afterward, in their season, proved that GOD had been entreated for the land?

OBSERVATION XXIII.

SCARCELY ANY RAIN IN EGYPT. FAMINE IN THE DAYS OF AHAB.

THE famine in the time of Ahab might, it is possible, be more severe than this in the days of David; nevertheless, I do not apprehend the threatening, that there should be *no dew nor rain*, meant that there should not be a single drop of rain for three years.

William, Archbishop of Tyre, in the 12th century, speaks* of a drought in the country about Damascus in his time, which continued for five years; but the Archbishop does not suppose there had been no rain at all about Damascus for five years, but only not the usual, not the necessary quantities of it, *ariditas nimia* and *pluviarum inopia* being the terms he makes use of: and this, I apprehend, is all that is necessary for us to suppose is meant, when we read there was no rain nor dew for three years.

Philo tells us, there is no winter in Egypt.† His following words show that he meant no rains, no hail, no

* Gesta Dei per Francos, p. 1017. † De Vita Mosis.

thunder, no violent storms of wind, which constitutes an eastern winter. In like manner Maillet* quotes Pliny as affirming there were no rains, no thunder, no earthquakes, in that country; Maillet however affirms that he had seen it rain there several times, and that there were two earthquakes in Egypt during his residence in it. He supposes therefore that the *non tremit* of Pliny signifies it *seldom* feels earthquakes, and when it does, is not damaged by them; the *non pluit, non tonat*, that it *seldom* rains, *seldom* thunders there, though as to the seacoast the rains and thunderings are often very violent, but it does not rain there as in other countries. Pitts,† an eyewitness, confirms Maillet's account of the rain of Egypt, assuring us that when he was at Cairo, which is at a considerable distance from the seacost, it rained to that degree, that having no kennels in the streets to carry off the water, it was ankle deep, and in some places half way up the leg. And Bishop Pococke assures us, that even in the Upper Egypt itself, it hailed and rained almost all one morning, when he was there in the month of February, and that it rained very hard the night following; and that on the 18th of that month it rained at Gava Kieber in the night, and again after it was day, and again in the evening.

We may understand by these accounts what the sacred writer means when he says, *Egypt has no rain*, Zech. xiv. 18. He must be understood in the same qualified sense that Maillet, or rather the Abbot Mascrier, puts upon Pliny; in the same qualified sense we must understand Philo; and consequently, all that is necessary to understand by the expressions, "There shall be no dew nor rain," is, that they should not be in the usual, in the necessary quantities. Such a suspension of rain and dew was sufficient to answer the chastising purposes of God; and an absolute drought of three years' continuance must surely have destroyed all the trees of the

* Let. 1. p. 19. † P. 9[illegible]

country, as well as occasioned a temporary famine; but no such destruction is intimated in the Scriptures.

Those prodigious long droughts that have happened in Cyprus, one of seventeen years, and another of thirtysix, must have been, one would think, of the same kind, not such favourable seasons of rain as they often enjoy, when they have a prodigious plenty of corn, but, however, not a total suspension. Yet a late traveller, speaking of these celebrated droughts says, no rain fell in the space of seventeen years;* had this been, strictly speaking, the fact, one would imagine that not only the inhabitants must have quitted the island, which he tells us they did, but almost every vegetable must have perished.

This suspension of rain in the time of Elijah, was for three years and six months, according to the Apostle James, ch. v. 17 If the rain was only withheld three winters, it would, in the common course of things, have been a withholding rain for about six months more than the three years strictly speaking, because the summers of the East are dry; it would, however, have been more natural to have expressed it by a drought of three years: but if the usual rains were withheld four winters, and first appeared late in the spring after their suspension, there would be a great energy in this form of speech, three years and six months.

Sir J. Chardin seems to have supposed the rain first returned in the spring. For proposing this as a difficulty, in one of his MS. notes, the Prophet said, *The barrel of meal shall not waste, neither shall the cruise of oil fail, until the day that the* LORD *sendeth rain upon the earth;* but from the day of the coming of the rain unto that of having corn, must there not be a considerable time? He answers, No, not in the East; as soon as there is rain there are herbs, and other things for food. This, though not clearly expressed, supposes the first rain was a late spring one, like that at Sidon, which came time enough

* Egmont and Heyman, v. i. p. 287

to produce many kind of fruits and esculent herbs, and to deliver from the severity of famine. Further, I confess, I do not see any necessity of supposing the miracle ceased the moment the rain descended, the words might mean no more, than that the miraculous increase of the meal and oil should be continued until the wants of this widow of Sarepta should be otherwise supplied, the means of which the fall of rains was the beginning.

The solicitude of Ahab to find grass for his horses and mules, seems to be a stronger proof that the first rain was in spring, because that is the time of the year in which they are wont to put their horses to grass; though this is not a proof that is absolutely conclusive, since in such a time of scarcity, the want of barley and straw might oblige them to look for moist food at an unusual time.

Before I quit this subject, it may not be improper further to observe, that Ahab's directing Obadiah to search for grass, *by the brooks and fountains of water*, agrees with Dr. Russell's account of a common Syrian summer, at which time the country is all quite parched up, excepting in those places where there is water.*

Sir J. Chardin's is perfectly similar, for his remark on 1 Kings xviii. 5, is, "in every place where there is water there is always grass and verdure, for water makes every thing grow in the East."

OBSERVATION XXIV.

WHIRLWINDS OFTEN PRECEDE RAIN, AND RAISE IMMENSE CLOUDS OF SAND.

When rain does fall in those countries it is often preceded by a squall of wind. So the ingenious Editor of the account of the Ruins of Palmyra, which city is situated in a vast desert, and from thence called Tadmor in the Desert,† tells us they seldom have rain there, except at the equinoxes; that nothing could be more serene than the sky

* P. 10. † Tadmor in the Wilderness, in 2 Chron. viii. 4.

all the time that they were there, which was about a fortnight in March, except one afternoon that there was a small shower, preceded by a whirlwind, which took up such quantities of sand from the desert as quite darkened the sky.*

Agreeably to this the Prophet Elisha, when in the Deserts with the king of Israel, who was marching with his army against Moab, and which was ready to perish for want of water, told him, *Thus saith the* LORD, *make this valley full of ditches. For thus saith the* LORD, *ye shall not see wind, neither shall ye see rain; yet that valley shall be filled with water, that ye may drink, both ye, and your cattle, and your beasts,* 2 Kings iii. 16, 17. It was natural for a squall to precede this rain, therefore he said, *ye shall not see wind.*

The circumstance of the winds taking up such quantities of sand as to darken the sky, may serve to explain that passage of the sacred historian, which describes the heaven as black with winds as well as clouds, 1 Kings xviii. 45, for neither of these circumstances, a squall preceding the rain, or its raising great quantities of dust, is peculiar to deserts. Dr. Russell speaks of both as common at Aleppo,† which is at a considerable distance from a desert properly speaking, though the country to the eastward wears that name.‡ The winds prognosticating rain is also referred to Prov. xxv. 14, *Whoso boasteth himself of a false gift,* or pretends he will give a valuable gift, and disappoints the expectation, *is like clouds and winds without rain.*

OBSERVATION XXV.

WHIRLWINDS USUALLY COME FROM THE SOUTH. OF THE PESTILENTIAL WIND CALLED SAMMIEL.

THE South seems to be the quarter from whence the Scriptures suppose whirlwinds usually arose, but we are

* P. 37. † Vol. i. Appendix, p. 13. ‡ Ibid, p. 60.

not to imagine they invariably came from that point of the compass.

As Palmyra was seated in a vast desert, it is not certain whence the whirlwind came, mentioned under the last Observation, since it only speaks of its taking up vast quantities of sand from the desert. It might do that from whatever quarter it came, since a desert surrounds Palmyra. One would, however, be inclined to suppose the East is meant, since that is the side which is described as a vast waste.*

Ezekiel speaks of a whirlwind that came from the North, ch. i. 4, but this was what appeared to him in vision, and therefore might not be according to the course of nature; however, historians inform us they sometimes really arise from thence. So the Archbishop of Tyre, speaking of a battle between the Prince of Antioch, and Doldequin, King of Damascus, attended by some powerful Turcoman and Arab warriors, tells us, "that in the heat of the fight, a most terrible whirlwind, arising from the North, appeared in the field of battle,† exerting its violence on the ground in the sight of all, and in passing further on, brought with it such a quantity of dust, which it had taken up, that it so filled the eyes of the troops on both sides as to incapacitate them from fighting; and at length raising itself up, with a circular motion, mounted high up into the air."‡

This, however, is mentioned as a memorable and extraordinary thing, the more southern countries being, I apprehend, much more liable to them, where, according to Maillet, they are wont to come from the South. For giving an account of the dangers attending the caravans that pass between Egypt and Nubia, he mentions the risk they run of losing their way in those thirsty deserts; and then adds, "The danger is infinitely greater, when the South wind happens to blow in these deserts. The least mischief that it produces is the making dry their leather

* P. 33. † Somewhere not far from Aleppo. ‡ Gesta Dei, p. 821

bottles, or goat skins filled with water, which they are obliged to carry with them in these journies, and by this means depriving both man and beast of the only relief they have against its violent heats. This wind, which the Arabs call poisonous, stifles on the spot those that are unfortunate enough to breathe in it: so that to guard against its pernicious effects, they are obliged to throw themselves speedily on the ground, with their face close to these burning sands, with which they are surrounded, and to cover their heads with some cloth or carpet, lest in respiration they should suck in that deadly quality which every where attends it. People ought even to think themselves very happy when this wind, which is always besides very violent, does not raise up large quantities of sand with a whirling motion, which darkening the air, render the guides incapable of discerning their way. Sometimes whole caravans have been buried by this means under the sand, with which this wind is frequently charged."*

* Let. dern. p. 218. A Turk, who had twice performed the pilgrimage of Mecca, told me that he had witnessed more than once the direful effects of this hot pestilential wind in the Desert; he has known all the water dried out of their *Girbahs* in an instant, by its influence. The camels alone he said, gave notice of its approach, by making a noise, and burying their mouths and nostrils in the sand. When this was observed, it was an infallible token that this desolation was at hand; and those who imitated the camels escaped suffocation.

The intelligent Mr. Jackson, who performed what is called the journey *overland* from the East Indies to Europe, in the year 1797, and published his Journal in 1799, 8vo. Cadell and Davies, has given the following particular account of this extraordinary wind. When on the river Tigris, about five days' journey from Bagdad, on June 10, he remarks, 'I had here an opportunity of observing the progress of the hot winds, called by the natives *Sammiel*, which sometimes prove very destructive, particularly at this season. They are most dangerous between twelve and three o'clock, when the atmosphere is at its greatest degree of heat. Their force entirely depends on the surface over which they pass. If it be over a *Desert*, where there is no vegetation, they extend their dimensions with amazing velocity, and then their progress is sometimes to windward. If over *grass* or any other vegetation, they soon diminish and lose much of their force. If over *water*, they lose all their electrical force, and ascend; yet I have sometimes felt their effects across the river where it was at least a mile

This passage shows with how much propriety whirlwinds of the South are mentioned: they are chiefly felt in the countries of the South; and they commonly arise from that quarter, but not always; being sometimes found in countries more to the North than Judea, and not rising from the South. They show also what is meant *by destruction coming as a whirlwind.* Prov. i. 27

OBSERVATION XXVI.

EFFECTS OF VIOLENT RAINS ON THE MUD BUILDINGS OF THE EAST.

Dr. Russell informs us that the rains of Aleppo generally fall in the night, and in very heavy showers.* Probably the same observation might be made in Judea, and that the Prophet refers to it, when he speaks of a *Tabernacle for a shadow in the day time from the heat; and for a place of refuge, and for a covert from storm and from rain:* Isai. iv. 6, for a refuge and a covert from storm and from rain in the night, I suppose, if we express the thought at large.

But it is only generally, not universally so, and therefore Josephus might justly mention† it as a strange,

broad. An instance of this happened here. Mr. *Stephens*, a fellow traveller, was bathing in the river, having on a pair of Turkish drawers. On his return from the water, there came a hot wind across the river which *made his drawers and himself perfectly dry in an instant.* Had such a circumstance been related to him by another person, he declared he could not have believed it. I was present, and felt the force of the hot wind; but should otherwise have been as incredulous as Mr. *Stephens.*' P 81. This corroborates the relation I received from the Turk.

I have no doubt that the destruction of the Assyrian host mentioned Isai. xxxvii. 36, was occasioned by such a pestilential blast. It is there said, that *the Angel*, messenger or agent, *of the Lord went forth, and smote in the camp of the Assyrians one hundred and fourscore and five thousand.* Now this *Angel of the Lord* is expressly called v. 7. רוח *ruach*, a *blast* or *wind*, which in my opinion can leave no doubt of the manner in which this passage is to be understood. Edit.

* Vol. i. Appendix, p. 9, &c. † Antiq. l. xv. cap. 11.

though not an incredible circumstance, which tradition affirmed to be true, that no rain fell in the day time, to beat off the workmen, while the Temple was repairing in the time of Herod, but all in the night, though the doing it took up a year and a half.

Of some effects that frequently follow the violence of the rains,* and are explanatory of some passages of Scripture, Dr. Shaw has given the following account:†

"When I was at Tozer, A. D. 1727, we had a small drizzling shower, that continued for the space of two hours; and so little provision was made against accidents of this kind, that several of the houses, which are built only with palm branches, mud, and tiles baked in the sun, corresponding perhaps to, and explanatory of the untempered mortar, Ezek. xiii. 11, *fell down* by imbibing the moisture of the shower. Nay, provided the drops had been either larger, or the shower of a longer continuance, or overflowing, in the Prophet's expression, the whole city would have undoubtedly dissolved and dropt to pieces. The like also, to compare great things with small, might have happened on the same occasion, even to such of the Egyptian *Pyramids* as are made of brick: the composition whereof, being only a mixture of clay, mud, and straw, Exod. v. 7, slightly blended and kneaded together, and afterward baked in the sun, would have made as little resistance. The straw which keeps these bricks together, and still preserves its original colour, seems to be a proof that these bricks were never burnt or made in kilns."

OBSERVATION XXVII.

OF COLD AND HOT WINDS.

Our translators were at a loss how to render Prov. xxv. 23: they could not tell whether Solomon spoke of

* The washing down their buildings. † P. 136.

the *North wind* as driving away rain, or *bringing it forth*, and therefore put one sense in the text, and the other in the margin. I have observed nothing decisive as to this point in the books of travels which I have perused, and indeed very little more relating to the winds, excepting the violent heat they sometimes bring with them in these countries.

At Aleppo, "the coldest winds in the winter are those that blow from between the North-west and the East, and the nearer they approach to the last mentioned point, the colder they are during the winter, and part of the spring. But from the beginning of May to the end of September, the winds blowing from the very same points, bring with them a degree and kind of heat which one would imagine came out of an oven, and which, when it blows hard, will affect metals within the houses, such as locks of room doors, nearly as much as if they had been exposed to the rays of the sun; yet it is remarkable that water kept in jars is much cooler at this time, than when a cool westerly wind blows. In these seasons, the only remedy is to shut all the doors and windows, for though these winds do not kill as the Sammiel, which are much of the same nature, do in the desert, yet they are extremely troublesome, causing a languor and difficulty of respiration to most people,"* &c.

There is a visible opposition between this account of the hot winds, as to their direction, and those words of our LORD,† *When ye see the South wind blow, ye say, there will be heat, and it cometh to pass:* they are both, however, just; for Cornelius le Bruyn‡ tells us that when he was at Rama, there was, on the 9th of October, a south-east wind, which, coming from the desert beyond Jordan, caused a great heat, and that this continued some days. The niceness of Russell's observations will not allow us

* Russell, vol. i. pp. 66, 67. A gentleman who lived long in the East, gives rather a different account. "I was at Madras many years where this wind prevails in the hot season, and the effect it always had on me, was extremely pleasant. I was always better in health." EDIT.

† Luke xii. 55. ‡ Tome 2, p. 150.

to doubt the truth of what he says of the direction of the hot winds at Aleppo; nor can we doubt of their direction being from the South in Judea; this is owing, without doubt, to the different situations of these places. In common, the direction of the wind which brings these great heats is the same as le Bruyn observed it in Judea. They are southerly winds in Barbary* and Egypt† that bring heat.

This observation of Russell, to indulge myself in something of a digression from the great design of these papers, which is to illustrate the Scriptures, concerning the great coolness of water kept in jars when these hot winds blow, than in the time of a cool westerly wind, very much takes off from the seeming incredibility of the account Josephus gives us of the water of Jericho,‡ which drawn, he says, before sunrise, grows colder upon being exposed to the sun, and assumes the contrary quality to that of the circumambient air; and on the other hand, is comfortably warm in winter. The Editors of Josephus have mentioned nothing of this kind in their notes on that noble author. Dr. Russell's account possibly may be of use to his future publishers.§

I cannot help adding, though it is a still greater digression, that surely this phenomenon at Aleppo deserves a very nice inquiry. A temporary thermometer may be made with water, as well as spirit of wine or quicksilver, and metalline instruments have been made to measure the degrees of heat and cold: if, then, water is colder at the time these hot winds blow than when there is a cool west-

* Dr. Shaw, p. 134. † Maillet Let. 11, p. 110.

‡ De Bello Jud. l. 4. c. 8.

§ This coolness of the water, in this extraordinary prevalence of heat, is without difficulty accounted for on the principle of *evaporation*. EDIT.

On the same principle, says Dr. Pat. Russell, Notes to his brother's History of Aleppo, vol. i. p. 360, wine is cooled by wrapping a wet cloth round the bottle, and then hanging it up at the tent door in the summer. Provided the cloth be kept constantly wet, the operation will be more speedily completed by suspending the bottle *in the sun*. EDIT.

erly wind, and consequently is lessened in its bulk, and metal is more heated, and consequently more expanded; a very great difference must appear between a water and a metalline measurer of the degrees of heat and cold: and the ascertaining these differences, and the drawing proper consequences from these observations, may agreeably employ a virtuoso, and lead to valuable discoveries.

OBSERVATION XXVIII.

FURTHER PARTICULARS OF THE HOT SUFFOCATING WINDS.

THESE hot winds are not deadly at Aleppo, as they are in the desert, but Dr. Russell gives us to understand they are troublesome enough, and oblige people to shut themselves up. They are very incommoding and suffocating in Barbary and Egypt too. * Le Bruyn is as unhappily reserved as to his observations on the weather of Judea, as he is tediously exact in things of that kind elsewhere, which is more to be regretted, as he spent a much longer time there than most travellers do, and that experience must settle the sense of many passages of Scripture of this sort, criticising being very unequal to the task: however, he sufficiently gives us to understand that the heat was violent, and consequently disagreeable.

What a different interpretation from that of many critics will this oblige us to put upon Cant. iv. 16? Many of them, among whom is the very learned Bochart, suppose the meaning of the first part of the verse to be, *Depart, O North wind, and come thou South!* עורי צפון ובואי תימן *urce tsaphôn oo boee teeman.* Jerom† was anciently of the same opinion, and calls the North wind, *Ventus durissimus*, the most nipping, pinching, unpleasant wind. Some modern critics say this, and much more, to support

* See Shaw and Maillet in the pages referred to under the last observations, and Egmont and Heyman, v. ii. p. 62.

† In Com. in Ezech. c. 40.

their interpretation. Sanctius,* in particular, affirms that the South wind is warm and humid, which by its gentle heat clothes the trees with leaves; and supposing that it might be objected to him, that Virgil speaks of the South wind *as destructive to flowers*, he gravely answers, that the South wind may be destructive in Italy and Spain, and stormy in Africa, yet placid and healthful in Palestine, because it blows from the sea, from whence it acquires an humid warmth and softness. Winds of the same direction, in different countries, may undoubtedly produce different, nay, contrary effects, but there is not the least ground for the notion of Sanctius. The South wind in Judea can hardly be said to blow from the sea; in Italy it certainly does, yet is destructive. Le Bruyn describes it from experience as producing great heat, not the gentle warmth of Sanctius. If then the South winds of that country were as troublesome as they are in Barbary and Egypt, and as the winds from the Desert are at Aleppo, which it seems are of the same nature as the South winds of Judea; or if they were only very hot, as le Bruyn certainly found them to be in October, would the Spouse have desired the *North wind to depart*, and *the South wind to blow* in the time of fruit, that is, in the heat of summer, as these authors imagine? It cannot be. The contrary, I make no doubt, is the true meaning of her words, though I do not know that any critic has understood them so, all acquiescing in the preceding interpretation; or the notion that both are desired, which is, in one view, still more insupportable; desiring a sultry, suffocating wind to blow, and this after having, with the same breath, wished for a wind from the opposite quarter.

None, I presume, will deny the first verb, עורי *uree*, may signify, *awake*, or *arise*, O North wind! all the hesitation must be about the second, *and come* בואי *boee, thou South!* which, I suppose, signifies enter into thy repositories. That יצא *yatza* and בא *bo*, with their deri-

vatives, are directly opposed to each other, we may learn from 2 Sam. iii. 25; *yatza* is frequently applied to the causing the wind to blow, Ps. cxxxv. 7, Jer. x. 13, ch. li. 16, consequently the word *bo* should signify the direct contrary, that is, its ceasing to blow, or its entering into its repository; just as *yatza* is used to express the rising of the sun, its coming out of its chamber, Ps. xix. and *bo*, its setting or entering into it, Deut. xi. 30, Josh. i. 4. And so the true explanation of these words will be, *Arise, O North wind! and retire, thou South! blow upon my garden, let the spices thereof flow forth, that my Beloved may come into his garden, invited by the coolness and fragrance of the air, and may eat his pleasant fruits; for if the South wind blows, the excessive heat will forbid his taking the air, and oblige him to shut close the doors and windows of his apartments.**

OBSERVATION XXIX.

FREQUENT LIGHTNINGS IN AUTUMN AT ALEPPO.

Dr. Russell, in his description of the weather at Aleppo in September tells us,† that seldom a night passes without much lightning in the North-west quarter, but not attended with thunder, and when this lightning appears in the West or South-west points, it is a sure sign of the approaching rain, which is often followed with thunder. This last clause, which is not perfectly clear, is afterward explained in his more enlarged account of the weather of the year 1746, when he tells us, that though it began to be cloudy on the 4th of September, and continued so for a few days, and even thundered, yet no rain fell until the 11th, which shows that his meaning was, that the lightning in the West or South-west points,

* After having *added* the words of the original text, I leave this criticism as I found it, without pretending to believe that it has very fair pretensions to credit. Edit.

† Vol. ii. p. 285.

which is often followed with thunder, is a sure sign of the approach of rain. I have before mentioned, that a squall of wind, and clouds of dust, are the usual forerunners of these first rains. Most of these things are taken notice of in Ps. cxxxv. 7, Jer. x. 13, ch. li. 16, and serve to illustrate them. Russell's account determines, I think, that the נשאים *nesiim*, which our translators render *vapours*, must mean, as they elsewhere translate the word, *clouds*. It shows that God *maketh lightnings for the rain*, they, in the West and South-west points, being at Aleppo the sure prognostics of rain. The squalls of wind bring on these refreshing showers, and are therefore precious things of the *treasuries* of God, and when he thunders, it is the *noise* of waters in the heavens. How graphically do the Prophets describe the autumnal rains, which God brings on the earth after the drought of summer, and how much greater energy appears in these words, after we have gained an acquaintance with the weather in the East, than before!

OBSERVATION XXX.

EXTRACTS FROM CURIOUS CALENDARS, SHOWING THE TIMES WHEN DIFFERENT FRUITS RIPEN.

Upon the whole, though the country about Jerusalem is several degrees to the South of Aleppo and Algiers, and a difference not much greater, in point of latitude, has sometimes made a surprising difference as to the ripening of vegetable productions,* yet they seem to pass through their respective gradations at much the same time in all these three places, as appears by comparing the accounts

* "I could not help being surprised at finding so great difference between the climates of Spain and Italy; for those vegetable productions we had some time ago seen ripe in Spain, about Cadiz, as pease and beans, for instance, were here, about Leghorn, now in blossom. We were, indeed, told that this was something extraordinary, and owing to the severity of the last winter." Egmont and Heyman's Trav. vol. i. p. 46.

that are given us of Aleppo and Algiers, with the following specimen relating to the Holy Land.

The trees are represented by Albertus Aquensis, as but just grown green at Jerusalem in March. Gesta Dei per Fr. 309.

And at Aleppo, according to Russell, their leafless state continues no longer than the end of February or beginning of March.

According to Raimond de Agiles, though a considerable part of the harvest was got in at Ramula, or Ramah, as it is now called, yet not at all, when the Crusade army, in which he was, arrived there in the end of May, or beginning of June, Gesta Dei, &c. p. 173. In like manner Fulcherius Carnotensis gives us to understand that the harvest at Ramula was ripe, but not gathered in, about the middle of May, A.D. 1102, pp. 413, 1017.*

And in Barbary, Shaw tells us, harvest time is in like manner in the end of May and beginning of June, p. 137; but at Aleppo it appears to be rather sooner, being generally over by the 20th of May, Russell, p. 65.

The middle of March was found to be the earliest time for beans near Tripoli, about half way from Aleppo to Jerusalem. Gesta Dei, &c. p. 26.†

And beans are usually full podded in the latter end of February, or the beginning of March, in Barbary. Shaw, p. 140.

If St. Jerom may be believed, the vintage in Judea is not till the end of September, or beginning of October. Com. in Amos, c. 4.

* It is supposed in the Scripture, that the barley harvest was earlier than the wheat; it is so, it seems, at this day; for Hasselquist found the people carrying home barley the second of May, N S. in the country between Acra and Nazareth, it ripening there about that time, p. 153; but he found the wheat was not ripe the fourteenth of May; for travelling that day in the road from Acra to Seide, he saw a shepherd eating for his dinner half ripe ears of wheat, after they were roasted, with which Hasselquist himself was also treated by him, p. 166. The wheat, then, is several days later than the barley.

† "This," says Dr. Russell, in a MS. note, "is *earlier* than at Aleppo."

The vintage at Aleppo begins as soon, lasting from he 15th of September to the same day of Novem- ber, according to Egmont and Heyman, v. ii. p. 348. So Shaw says, the grape begins to ripen in Barbary the later end of July,* and is ready for the vintage in Septem- ber, p. 146.

And we must be content to make our estimate accordngly, and consider the accounts of Aleppo and Algiers as nearly descriptive of what happens in the Holy Land, until a more particular and accurate description of it shall be given us by some curious observer.†

* The account of Albertus Aquensis, Gesta Dei, p. 176, may be understood so as not to contradict this representation. The siege of Jerusalem by the Crusade army, in 1099, is said to have been begun June the 7th, and to have ended July the 15th, Gesta Dei, p. 750, and 752, consequently before grapes ripen, according to what happens in Barbary; yet Albertus Aquensis, complaining of the great want of water among the besiegers in the abovementioned page, observes, there was always there a great plenty of grapes and of wine among the chiefs, and those that had money. But then those grapes might not be such as grew in that country; in a succeeding place, p. 285, the same writer tells us, that pomegranates, wine, and other refreshments were sent to this siege from Cyprus by way of present, and if by way of present, they might be carried from thence for sale too. Now, according to Dr. Shaw, pomegranates ripen not in Barbary till August, p. 145, which is later than the time grapes begin to be fit to be eat there; consequently the country that could send ripe pomegranates to that siege could send ripe grapes, though the grapes about Jerusalem might not be at that time sufficiently ripe. And, indeed, had these ripe grapes been the produce of the Holy Land, the common soldiers would have seized them for their own use: they would not have been tasted only by the wealthy.

† From a MS. calendar, kept at *Sheeraz* by an European gentleman, it may not be improper to extract the following short notes:

"JUNE 1, 1787. *Apricots, cherries, apples, green gages, and plums* came into season. Do. 19. *Musk melons* came into season. JULY 6th. *Black grapes* came into season. 9th. *Pears* came into season. 13th. *White grapes* and *water melons* came into season. 18th. The *Arline plum* came into season. 20th. *Apricots, apples*, and *cherries*, gone out of season 22d. *Figs* came into season. AUGUST 6th. *Peaches*, and the small *white grape*, called *Askerie*, came into season. SEPTEMBER 6th *Pomegranates* came into season. 10th. *Quinces*, and the *large red grape*, called *Sahibi*, came into season. OCTOBER 4th. The large *pear*, called *Abbasi*, came into season 7th. *Walnuts* came into season." These are all the remarks I find in this calendar relative to the productions of this country. EDIT.

I will only add here, that if fruits ripen at Aleppo, Jerusalem, and in Barbary, nearly at the same time, it must have been the latter end of July, or rather the beginning of August, that the Spies were sent out by Moses to search the Promised Land.

For Moses tells us, the time of giving them their instructions was the time of the first ripe grapes, Numb. xiii. 20. At forty days' end they returned, and brought with them a large bunch of grapes, pomegranates, and figs, v. 23, 25. The three sorts of fruits, then, are contemporaries, and grapes continue in perfection after they begin to ripen. All this agrees with Dr. Shaw's account, who tells us, grapes begin to ripen in Barbary the latter end of July, and are ready for the vintage in September; that the kermez, or kermouse, the fig properly so called, which they preserve and make up into cakes, consequently, that which is most useful for food, is rarely ripe before August; and that the month of August produces the first pomegranates.* They received their orders about the beginning of August, and returned about the middle of September; and their observations concerning the fatness of the land must have related to the wine, figs, and other fruits of the country, rather than to the corn, which had been long gathered in, and lay concealed in secret repositories.

OBSERVATION XXXI.

THE FIRST, OR EARLY RAINS, FALL AT DIFFERENT TIMES IN JUDEA, IN BARBARY, AND AT ALEPPO.

We must not, however, imagine the circumstances of the weather in all these three places are exactly alike. I have already remarked one difference relating to the time of the fall of the first rains in autumn, Dr. Shaw informing us, that they do not fall in the Holy Land in an usual way

* Tom. i. part 3, § 2.

until about the beginning of November; whereas in Barbary they often fall in September, as they also commonly do, according to Dr. Russell, at Aleppo.

If this account concerning the Holy Land be just, it is visible that the intention of Solomon in Eccles. xi. 2, *Give a portion to seven, and also to eight,* &c. could not be, *give a good portion of thy seed to thy field in the month Tisri,* &c.* since as Tisri answers to the latter end of September, and first part of October, and they do not even begin to plough till after the rains,† a good portion of their seed could not, in common, be given to the fields of Judea in Tisri, nor indeed any at all, the sowing of the earliest wheat not being till the middle of October at Aleppo or Algiers, which yet the Chaldee Paraphrast supposes. But this explanation may perhaps point out the country of the Paraphrast. Were remarks to be made with accuracy on the weather of those eastern countries in which the Jews anciently resided, and on their agriculture, &c. it would serve to explain many passages in their old books, and perhaps determine the countries where such and such books were written, or such and such decisions given. Every body must be sensible, very curious observations might be made on this subject; but I shall only remark, that, on account of these differences, these writings are very insufficient to determine points of this kind, of which Dr. Lightfoot has given a very ample and convincing proof.

OBSERVATION XXXII.

APPLICATION OF THE FOREGOING PARTICULARS FOR THE EXPLANATION OF VARIOUS TEXTS.

Observations of this kind may also be requisite to explain some passages of Scripture, which speak of the weather in other countries as well as that of Judea, and

* See Lightfoot, v. ii. p. 541. † Shaw, p. 137. Russell, vol. i. p. 73.

should be added as a kind of appendix to the foregoing articles. Thus Jacob complains of the drought in the day time in Mesopotamia, and of the frost of the nights there: and accordingly Rauwolff, speaking of his going down the Euphrates, gives us to understand that he was wont to wrap himself up in a frize coat in the night time, to keep himself from the frost and dew, which are very frequent and violent there;* the heat, or drought of the day, might well be equally complained of by Jacob, for Thevenot tells us,† that when he travelled in this country of Mesopotamia, the heat was so excessive, that though he wore upon his head a great black handkerchief which he could see through, after the manner of the eastern people when they travel, yet he had many times his forehead so scorched as to swell exceedingly, and so as to have the skin come off, and that his hands also were continually scorched. *In the day the drought consumed me, and the frost by night.* Gen. xxxi. 40.‡

The 6th vol. of MS. C. enables me to give my readers an addition to this observation, which is too curious to be suppressed.

"This passage, he is speaking of Gen. xxxi. 40, is one of those many places of Scripture, which show the importance of knowing the nature of those countries, which served as the theatre to all the transactions there recounted. For in Europe the days and nights resemble each other, with respect to the qualities of heat and cold; but it is quite otherwise in the East. In the Lower Asia, in particular, the day is always hot, and as soon as the sun is fifteen degrees above the horizon, no cold is felt, in the depth of winter itself. On the contrary, in the height of summer the nights are as cold as at Paris in the month of March. It is for this reason that in Persia and Turkey

* Ray's Travels, p. 155, 156. † Part ii. p. 52.

‡ It was no wonder that Thevenot felt all this inconvenience, from the bare circumstance of his wearing a *black* turban or head dress, no matter how thin; all *dark* colours strongly *absorb* the rays of the sun, while all *light* colours *reflect* them. EDIT.

they always make use of furred habits in the country, such only being sufficient to resist the cold of the nights. I have travelled in Arabia, and in Mesopotamia, the theatre of the adventures of Jacob, both in winter and in summer, and have found the truth of what the Patriarch said, *That he was scorched with heat in the day, and stiffened with cold in the night.* This contrariety in the qualities of the air in twentyfour hours is extremely great in some places, and not conceivable by those that have not seen it: one would imagine they had passed in a moment from the violent heats of summer to the depth of winter. Thus it hath pleased God to temper the heat of the sun by the coolness of the nights, without which the greatest part of the East would be barren, and a desert: the earth could not produce any thing." And then after some reflections on the temperature of the countries under, or near the line, and in particular of Batavia; the agreeableness of that country to the constitutions of the Dutch, who transplanted themselves thither from a northern climate; and to the growth of the plants of Europe; he closes with observing, the Prophet Jeremiah speaks of this contrariety of the eastern days and nights in his xxxvi. ch. v. 30.*

Mr. Drummond, who did not think proper to pass over the Euphrates into Mesopotamia, on account of the brutality of the officer who commanded at Beer, observed the like difference between the days and nights on the Syrian side of the Euphrates: for he tells us,† "In this country we always found the mornings cold, and the day scorching hot." There is nothing wonderful in the second particular, but it is natural to be surprised at the first, since this journey from Aleppo to the Euphrates commenced August 17, 1747, and ended the last day of that month. Cold mornings the latter end of August in the Deserts of Arabia, near the Euphrates, appear strange, but are, we see, confirmed by very different authors: how well founded then the complaint of Jacob!

* See also Baruch, ii. 25.

OBSERVATION XXXIII.

TIME OF SHEEP SHEARING IN THE HOLY LAND.

SIGNIOR LUSIGNAN, in the conversation I had with him about the Holy Land, assured me, that the time of sheep shearing in that country is March, and toward the beginning of that month, O. S. which is another proof, that they are about six weeks, or two months, forwarder in that country than we are in England, for the washing many of the sheep this year,* in the village in Suffolk in which I am writing this, preparatory to the shearing them, was the 17th of May.

The ingenious Dr. Aikin, in his Calendar of Nature, lately published, throws sheep shearing into June; and though he makes it one of the earliest of the rural employments of that month, yet one of the tokens to mark out the time, given by Dyer, whom the Doctor quotes, is when the

> Verdant *alder* spreads
> Her silver flowers:

which is not, at least was not, this year until the middle of June, which would make sheep shearing three months earlier in the Holy Land than it is with us: but Dyer's prescription is not followed by us as to the time of performing this operation, nor, it seems, by the Arabs of Palestine.

The account I have given of the time of sheep shearing there, may be confirmed by testimonies of a different kind, which it may not be improper to set down here.

Aristophanes, the old Greek comic writer, supposes, that among the economical uses to be derived from the appearing of certain birds, the fixing the time proper for the shearing of sheep is one, and that the coming of the kite proclaims its being then the fit season.†

* 1785.

† Stillingfleet's Miscell. Tracts, p. 257.

Now Stillingfleet, in some notes on the Calendar of Theophrastus,* fitted for Athens, in the latitude 37° 25′, observes, that "between March 11 and 26 the kite and the nightingale appear, at Athens, that is, in the leafing season. The appearance of the hawk is consonant to what Aristotle says, as quoted in the preface, but is determined upon a different kind of testimony; which is a proof that this part of the Calendar, at least, is tolerably well stated."

These accounts of Lusignan and Stillingfleet, if admitted, fix the time of the year when Jacob set out upon his return from Padan Aram to his father Isaac, Gen. xxxi. 19; when Judah cohabited with his daughter in law, Gen. xxxviii. 12, &c. at which time of the year, according to Dr. Russell, they are wont to kill their kids about Aleppo,† agreeable to the proposal made by him to send her a kid from the flock, v. 17.

In like manner circumstances determine, that it was in the spring that the sheep of Nabal were shorn, 1 Sam. xxv. 2, for, among other things carried by Abigail to David for a present, mention is made of five measures of parched corn, v. 18; but we know from other passages of Scripture, that the time of their using parched corn was wont to be, when it was full grown, but not ripe, Lev. xxiii. 14, Ruth ii. 14, 2 Sam. xvii. 28. This observation may be of some use in settling the chronology of David's wandering up and down in the deserts, when forced to fly to avoid the vengeance of Saul.

There is another circumstance, in this affair of Nabal, which should not be passed over in silence, and that is, that his sheep seem to have been sent into the wilderness to feed, some time before the season of sheep shearing came on, and that they were there by night as well as by

* Ibid. p. 324.

† Besides the milk of the goats, their kids add some part to the diet of the inhabitants, a few being killed in the spring and autumn. *History of Aleppo*, Vol. i. p. 115.

day. This seems to be pointed out by the 7th, and the 15th and 16th verses: *Thy shepherds, which were with us, we hurt them not, neither was there ought missing to them, all the while they were at Carmel The men were very good unto us, and we were not hurt, neither missed we any thing, as long as we were conversant with them, when we were in the fields. They were a wall unto us, both by night and day, all the while we were with them keeping the sheep.* It would be happy if some curious observer would give the world an accurate economical calendar for the Holy Land, as things are now conducted among them. As nothing of that sort has been published, that I know of, I must content myself with observing, that in Sweden, where the sheep are housed in the winter, they are turned into the fields, according to the exact and distinct economical calendar for that country, when the white wagtail appears,* which happened above a month before the nightingale returned,† which being coincident with the appearance of the kite, marks out, according to the ancients, the time of sheep shearing. But as the climate of countries in the North of Europe differs so considerably from that of Judea, the interval between the turning sheep out into their common pastures, after housing them in the winter time, and shearing them, may differ very much in different countries.

The sacred historian mentions also Absalom's celebrating sheep shearing time with magnificence, but without mentioning any circumstance that requires attention here.

But with regard to the first of these accounts, that relating to Jacob, who left Mesopotamia when Laban went to shear his sheep, we may with propriety take notice of the acuteness which Jacob showed, in selecting the articles of that present he made Esau. To disengage himself from the company of his brother, and that of his attendants, which gave him a good deal of apprehension, he pleaded not only the tender age of his children, but

* Stillingfleet's Miscell. Tracts, p. 265. † P. 267.

the state of his cattle, which had, many of them, young by their sides, which, if they were overdriven but one day, would die.* Had he however, made a present of such cattle to Esau, Esau might have alleged the same reason for marching with the like slowness. He chose out therefore such as might make up a noble present, but not such as were encumbered with their young. No lambs, or kids, or calves. There were indeed thirty milch camels with their colts, and twenty she asses, of which ten had foals. But it appears from a passage of Sir John Chardin,† that camels generally couple about June, and continue in a pregnant state eleven or twelve months;‡ consequently these colts must have been nine or ten months old at this time, and therefore very able to travel much more briskly than the lambs and kids of that spring. The ten foals of the twenty she asses were chosen, I suppose, with like caution, though I have not such determinate evidence to produce as to their probable age.

OBSERVATION XXXIV.

AUTUMNAL VEGETATION IN THE EAST.

As the weather and the appearances in the vegetable world, in the spring, have been shown to be much alike in Barbary, at Aleppo, and in the Holy Land; it may not be improper to add, that there is the same resemblance as to the productions of autumn, and consequently, that we may safely apply what may be said of one place to either of the other

I have shown it as to the weather of the autumn in some preceding Observations, let us now proceed to the vegetable productions.

Dr. Russell tells us the cotton is not gathered about Aleppo until October, O. S. vol. i. p. 78.

* Gen. xxxiii. 13. † Tom 2. pp. 142, 143. ‡ P. 28.

And in 1774, when a late traveller visited Judea, the cotton at Acra, where he considered himself as entering into the precincts of the Holy Land, was chiefly gathered in the 23d of October, at which time he arrived there.

Rauwolff found that at the time when the cotton was tender and woolly, near the Euphrates, about the middle of October, the corn, which grew very high, was full ripe, and fit to be cut down.* The same traveller found then Indian millet in the same place just fit to be cut down, and that in some places they had it in already.† The corn then and millet were somewhat sooner ripe than the cotton.

The same writer tells us that the fields about Rama were very fruitful, well tilled, and sown with corn, cotton, and Indian millet; and that it was harvest time when he was there, which was the middle of September, a great officer being there to gather a great quantity of corn to send to Joppa, to go by sea to Constantinople,‡ where there was then a scarcity.§ But, according to him, all the corn¶ was not in by the end of the month.‖

When Rauwolff found the Turkey wheat and Indian millet fully ripe on the bank of the Euphrates, he found the Indian musk melon still continued in season, and in great quantities.**

In like manner he found them growing in the Holy Land, in great quantities, very pleasant, and well tasted, chiefly those that were red within, when the Turkey corn and Indian millet began to be ripe there.††

Russell tells us, that the greater part of the trees about Aleppo retain their leaves until the beginning of December. Vol. i. p. 79.

And in 1774, some of the fruit trees had begun to drop their leaves when that late visitor of the Holy Land left Joppa, which must have been toward the close of Novem-

*Ray's Travels, p. 158. †P. 161. ‡P. 229. §P. 227.

¶ Which corn appears to have been the Indian or Turkey wheat, our kind of wheat being reaped in the East much sooner.

‖ P. 319. ** P. 161. †† P. 229.

ber, as he did not leave Jerusalem until the 19th of that month, N. S. and arrived in Egypt on the 2d of December, but the olive and fig trees were not then on the decline.

OBSERVATION XXXV.

INTENSELY COLD WINDS AND ABUNDANCE OF SNOW ON MOUNT LIBANUS, IN THE SPRING.

When Trachonitis was a part of the Jewish country, as it appears to have been in the time of our Lord,* if it did not come within the original bounds of the half tribe of Manasseh, it must have been a very different country from the South of Judea in point of heat. But this is no more than happens to other countries, and only makes the multiplication of meteorological observations and economical calendars necessary, according to the nature of the different districts, in order to have a just idea of the whole.

Thus de la Valle, having passed over Jordan, at that time called Jacob's Bridge, and travelling in the country of Trachonitis, which was very fertile and well cultivated, he found that "Mount Libanus was not far off, and that from thence came a wind so vehement and so cold, with such an abundance of snow, that though we were in a manner buried in our quilted coverlets, yet it was sensibly felt all night, and was very disagreeable."†

When I add, that it appears that this disagreeable night was that between the 29th and 30th of April, 1616, we shall not be a little surprised. The snow that fell in the night between the 4th and 5th of May, O. S. 1740, or the 15th and 16th of May, N. S. and some remains of which I saw four days after, and which so much astonished us in Suffolk, was not so far into the spring with us, as the night between the 29th and 30th of April into a Syrian spring, which I have elsewhere shown is, in common, six, if not eight weeks earlier than our's.

* Luke iii. 1. *Herod being Tetrarch of Galilee, and his brother Philip Tetrarch of Iturea, and of the region of Trachonitis.*

CHAP II.

CONCERNING THEIR LIVING IN TENTS.

OBSERVATION I.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THEIR DWELLING IN TENTS.

However pleasant the dwelling under tents may be in our country in summer, and the taking now and then a repast there in some favourable days of winter, yet the severity of the weather at some times makes the constant living in tents, which the Patriarchs are said to do, seem strange to some, if not almost incredible.

This apprehension will not be lessened by the complaints of some modern travellers; such as that of Maundrell, who, speaking of lodging under tents in the night preceding the 2d of March, says they were glad to part early in the morning from their campaign lodging, the weather being too moist and cold for such discipline; and presently after, in describing the pouring down of rain, attended with lightning and thunder, on the 3d of March, he complains that they knew not well which to be most concerned for, themselves who enjoyed the miserable comfort of a dropping tent, or their servants and horses, which had nothing but their own clothes to protect them.

They that read such passages may wonder at the common supposition of Abraham's dwelling in tents through the whole year in the land of Canaan; Isaac's and Jacob's imitating his example; and the living of the Rechabites in the same manner, in the days of Jeremiah, and for several ages before his time. That this however was the fact, we have no reason to doubt, since it is done by great numbers in that very country at this day.

I will not say this may be accounted for by observing that Canaan lies more to the South than the places of

which Maundrell speaks; or that they might not so well understand the manner of pitching their tents, for shooting off the rain, as the modern Arabs who live thus, or the Patriarchs: there may be something in those observations, but no great matter. The true answer, I believe, is, that that discipline might appear severe and dangerous to Englishmen, which was safe to the Patriarchs and Rechabites, who were used to this way of life, and which is accordingly practised by many at this very day, even in the northern parts of Palestine.

That the Arabs do now practise it, and spend their winters as well as their summers in these habitations, is a most certain fact. So Mons. d'Arvieux, who made a visit to the Arabs of Mount Carmel by order of Louis XIV informs us,* that they have no other places to dwell in but tents, which are set up in such a manner as that the rain slides off without penetrating them. Sandys goes further,† and says of these Arabs, that they lived in tents, according to the ancient custom of that nation, even during the winter, although possessed of sundry convenient houses.

I do not know that any have made this account of the Patriarchs living in tents, an objection to the Old Testament history; but had not the fact been uncontrovertible, Maundrell's complaints might have formed an objection as plausible as multitudes that are made, and which arise merely from our being unacquainted with antiquity, and the manners of the East.

OBSERVATION II.

WHAT IS MEANT BY HOUSES OF GOLD, IVORY, &c.

Sir J. Chardin tells us, "that the late king of Persia caused a tent to be made, which cost two millions.‡ They

* Voy. dans la Pal. par la Roque, p. 173. † P. 158.

‡ French livers, we are to suppose.

called it the House of Gold, because gold glittered every where about it." He adds, "that there was an inscription wrought upon the cornice of the antichamber, which gave it the appellation of the throne of the second Solomon, and at the same time marked out the year of its construction.*

This account, which is short in this writer, and which I have still more abridged, furnishes us with materials for several remarks.

It shows us, in the first place, how natural it is to the Eastern people, to use the words *house* and *tent* as equivalent terms: this tent, it seems, was called *the House of Gold.* This interchange of the two words frequently appears in the Old Testament. Thus the goodly raiment of Esau, which was left in the custody of Rebekah, is said to be *with her in the house*, Gen. xxvii. 15, which it is certain were kept in a tent. On the other hand, when Sheba, the son of Bichri, a Benjamite, wanted to cause the people to Abandon David, he blew a trumpet, crying, *To your tents, O Israel!* 2 Sam. xx. 1; though Israel did not dwell in moveable habitations at that time, but in cities.

In the next place, this tent was called the House of Gold, not that it was wholly made of gold, but because it was highly ornamented with it. This teaches us how we are to understand the *houses of ivory*, and the *golden city*, of which we read in the Scriptures. The houses of ivory† appear to mean houses richly adorned with that precious substance; and the golden city‡ means the city remarkable for its being richly gilded in many parts of it, or at least in some remarkable places.§

* Tome i. p. 203. † Ps. xlv. 8. 1 Kings xxii. 39. Amos iii. 15.

‡ Mentioned Is. xiv. 4.

§ We may be satisfied, I believe, that it does not signify, according to the marginal translation, *exactress of gold*; for however truly it might have been so described, the Chaldees themselves would hardly have given it such an appellation, and the word is acknowledged to be Chaldaic: but

In the third place we may observe, that this tent is called Throne:* "the Throne of the second Solomon." This shows that the word *throne* sometimes signifies not the royal seat, strictly speaking, but the place in which that seat is set. It is used in the same enlarged sense in the Scriptures.

It is even probably used here, in the fourth place, to signify any royal abode, even those where no seat of state ever appeared. For nothing leads us to imagine the Persian throne, strictly speaking, was ever brought into this majestic tent. So when the men of Gideon and of Mizpeh are said to have *repaired unto the throne of the governor on this side the river*, Neh. iii. 7, nothing more may be meant than that they repaired to over against the palace of this great man.

Niebuhr has made a similar remark to the first of these, in the first vol. of his Voyages,† where he tells us, "a young peasant invited him to go with him to his house, to drink some fresh water, which had been taken from the spring that very day; and he did it with so much cordiality, that Niebuhr says he should not have refused him, if it had not been then late. خيمه *kheemeh*, is properly the name of a tent among the Arabs, but he remarked that the Arabs of this country named their tents بيت *beet* that is to say, their *house*.

they might glory in it on account of its being highly ornamented with gold, in some of its more remarkable parts. One or more of its domes or towers might be richly gilded, like the dome and two towers of the mosque built over the supposed tomb of Ali, of which Niebuhr has given us an account in the second of his three tomes of Travels, p. 223; or it might have one or more spires, like that over the tomb of Fatima, at Com, a city of Persia, which Chardin tells us consists of several balls of different magnitudes, and if of solid gold, as the inhabitants affirm, must be worth millions. Tome i p. 204.

* P 203. † P. 189.

OBSERVATION III.

OF PAVILIONS, BOOTHS, AND SLEEPING UNDER THE SHADE OF TREES, &c.

THE word שפיר *shapheer*, which we translate *pavilion* may, it is very likely, excite the notion of something superior to a common tent; so our translators use that term to express the superb tent of a king of Babylon, Jer. xliii. 10. *He*, Nebuchadnezzar, *shall spread his royal pavilion over them.* A mere English reader will be surprised, perhaps, when he is told that the word סכות *succoth*, translated pavilions, 1 Kings xx. 12, 16, signifies nothing more than *booths;* and more still, if he is told that the sacred historian might, possibly, precisely design to be understood, when so describing the places in which kings were drinking.

That the word signifies those slight temporary defences from the heat, which are formed by the setting up the boughs of trees, is visible by what is said Jonah iv. 5, and Neh. viii. 16, and we know that the common people of the East frequently sit under them; but it may be thought incredible that princes should make use of such as the term, precisely taken, seems to imply. *And it came to pass, when Benhadad heard this message, as he was drinking, he and the kings in the pavilions,* 1 Kings xx. 12. *But Benhadad was drinking himself drunk in the pavilions, he and the kings, the thirty and two kings that helped him,* v. 16.

In the margin our translators have put the word *tents;* but that there is nothing incredible in the account, if we should understand the prophetic historian as meaning booths, properly speaking, will appear, if we consider the great simplicity of ancient times, and the great delight the people of the East take in verdure, and in eating and drinking under the shade of trees; especially after read-

ing the following paragraph of Dr. Chandler's Travels in the Lesser Asia:

"While we were employed on the theatre of Miletus, the Aga of Suki, son in law, by marriage to Elez Oglu,* crossed the plain toward us, attended by a considerable train of domestics and officers, their vests and their turbans of various and lively colours, mounted on long tailed horses, with showy trappings and furniture. He returned after hawking, to Miletus; and we went to visit him, with a present of coffee and sugar; but we were told that two favourite birds had flown away, and that he was vexed and tired. A couch was prepared for him beneath a shed, made against a cottage, and covered with green boughs, to keep off the sun. He entered as we were standing by, and fell down on it to sleep, without taking any notice of us."† A very mean place, an European would think, to be prepared for the reception of an Aga that made so respectable a figure, and in a town, which, though ruinated, still had several cottages, inhabited by Turkish families.‡

It does not appear incredible then, that Benhadad, and the thirtytwo petty kings that attended him, might actually be drinking wine beneath such green sheds, as a Turkish Aga, of considerable distinction, chose to sleep under, rather than in an adjoining cottage, or rather than under a tent, which he otherwise might have carried with him, to repose under when he chose to rest himself. Oriental manners are very different from those in the West.

OBSERVATION IV.

THE TURCOMANS AND THEIR MANNER OF LIFE.

ABRAHAM is described, on a particular occasion, as sitting at the door of his tent, in the heat of the day,

* A Turkish officer of great power and extensive command in that country, dignified with the title of Musulém, p. 106.

† P. 149. ‡ P. 148.

Gen. xviii. 1, and from Dr. Chandler's account, it appears that those that lead a pastoral life in the East, at this day, frequently place themselves in a similar situation.

"At ten minutes after ten, in the morning, we had in view, says this writer, several fine bays, and a plain full of booths, with the Turcomans sitting by the doors, under sheds resembling porticoes; or by shady trees, surrounded with flocks of goats."*

This gentleman frequently met with these people in his journies in Asia: sometimes he describes them as living in black booths,† which I should suppose, means tents of black goats hair cloth, like the tents of the Arabs; at other times, he evidently means habitations formed of boughs of trees: thus he says, p. 184. "We came to a level green, occupied by Turcomans. Their flocks and their cattle were feeding round the scattered booths; and cotton, recently gathered from the pods, was exposed on the ground to dry, or on the tops of the sheds, which are flat and covered with boughs."‡

As these people seem to change their habitations, as the weather, or their fancies dispose them, it is not impossible that Abraham might dwell in both these kinds of habitations, and might be sitting in the portico of one of these extemporaneous structures, formed of the boughs of trees, as the word rendered *tent* is used in a large sense in Scripture; but if not, if it was a tent strictly speaking, he might be sitting under the outskirts of his tent, near the door, to enjoy the fresh air, as Chandler saw the Turcoman shepherds sitting under their sheds, watching their cattle.

It was not the hottest part of the day, when Chandler saw these people sitting at the doors of their booths, it was soon after ten in the morning; and when Abraham was sitting at his tent door, it might be nearly at the same hour. Travelling in the hottest part of all might have

* P. 180, 181, Travels in Asia Minor. † See p. 112.

‡ This being some time in October.

been dangerous, and according to the modern customs of those countries Abraham then would have been retired to rest.

According to this description, Abraham had not far to go to fetch a calf; his cattle were feeding by his tent.

OBSERVATION V

OF THE BEDOUIN ARABS, AND THEIR MANNER OF FEEDING THEIR FLOCKS.

Our people, who are extremely watchful over their public pastures to guard them from intruders, and so ready to go to law with their next neighbours about their right to common, or the number of beasts they shall feed there, may think it very strange that Abraham and Lot, the Kenites and Rechabites, should have been permitted to move up and down, and feed their flocks and herds unmolested, in inhabited countries as well as in deserts.

But this ancient custom still continues in Palestine, which, depopulated as it is, probably has as many inhabitants in its towns, as it had in the days of Abraham. Nor is this peculiar to Palestine; there are many that live in Barbary, and other places, in the same manner. And as the Kenites and Rechabites lived in Palestine in tents, and pastured their cattle there without molestation when the country was very populous, so Maillet assures us,* that great numbers of these people that live in tents, come into Egypt itself to pasture their cattle, a very populous country, and indeed the Holland of the Levant. As I do not know his account has ever appeared in English, I will here give it to the reader:

"Besides these native inhabitants of Egypt, who have fixed habitations, and compose those numerous and popu-

* Let 1. p. 24, 25.

lous villages of which I have spoken above, there are also in that part of the country that is next the deserts, and even often in those that border on the Nile, a sort of wandering people, who dwell in tents, and change their habitation, as the want of pasture or the variety of the seasons lead them. These people are called Bedouin Arabs; and we may reckon there are above two millions of them in Egypt. Some keep on the mountains, and at a distance from the cities and villages, but always in places where it is easy for them to have water. Others pitch their tents, which are very low and poor, in the neighbourhood of places that are inhabited, where they permit them for a small recompense to feed their flocks. They even give them up some lands to cultivate for their own use, only to avoid having any misunderstanding with people, who can do a great deal of mischief without any danger of having it returned upon them. For to avoid every thing of this kind, they have nothing to do but to penetrate a day's journey into the deserts, where, by their extreme frugality, and by the knowledge they have of places of water, they can subsist several months without great difficulty. There is not a more pleasing sight in the world, than the beholding in the months of November, December, and January, those vast meadows, where the grass, almost as high as a man, is so thick, that a bullock laid in it has enough of it without rising, within his reach, to feed on for a whole day, all covered with habitations and tents, with people and herds. And indeed it is at this time of the year that the Bedouins flock into Egypt, from three or four hundred leagues distance, in order to feed their camels and horses there. The tribute which they require of them for granting this permission, they pay with the produce of some manufactures of their wool, or with some sheep, which they sell as well as their lambs, or some young camels, which they dispose of. As to what remains, accustomed as they are to extreme frugality, they live on a little, and a very small matter is sufficient for their support. After having spent a certain space of

time in the neighbourhood of the Nile, they retire into the deserts, from whence by routes, with which they are acquainted, they pass into other regions, to dwell there in like manner some months of the year, till the return of the usual season calls them back to Egypt."

We see here that they are at liberty to feed their cattle, not only in the deserts adjoining to cultivated countries, but in those countries themselves, and in those that are full of people too. The commons then of these countries are not, cannot be appropriated to this or that village, this or that district, but lie open to all, nor have they any notion of our rights of commoning.* It was so anciently in Israel, as appears by the case of the Kenites and Rechabites; as well as by that ancient constitution among the Jews, ascribed by them to Joshua, and which is the first of ten that are supposed to have been established by him, by which it was lawful to feed a flock in the woods, every where, without any regard to the division of the lands between the tribes, so that those of the tribe of Napthali might feed a flock in the woods of the tribe of Judah. These usages are extremely contrary to ours; the observing therefore that they continue still in full force in the East, may be requisite to engage us to admit such suppositions, in settling the Old Testament history, as we might otherwise hardly be willing to allow.

OBSERVATION VI.

ARABS HAVE NO PLACES OF SHELTER FOR THEIR CATTLE BY NIGHT.

THOUGH they have tents for their own dwelling, we cannot suppose the Arabs have many conveniences for sheltering their cattle, but that in common they are left exposed to all weathers.

When the Prophet Ezekiel threatens the Ammonites, that Rabbah, their capital, should be a *stable for camels*,

* Vide Relandi Palest. p. 261

we are not to imagine the Arabs were obliged to have such places for these more tender animals. Sir J. Chardin, in a note on that place,* assures us of the contrary: "As they give camels to eat on the ground, he tells us, and do not litter them, they want no buildings for them. And accordingly as camels feed in very barren and dry places, where only nettles and thorns grow, which they eat, and thistles and heath, and remain abroad in rain and snow, they are afraid of nothing for them but mire, where they slip, and plunge, and fall, in which case they arise again with difficulty."

It is true, Dr. Shaw supposes† the cattle of these countries would be much more numerous than they are, if they had some little shelter in winter; but as it is, they are in great numbers, and we find the camel itself will pass through their winters very well without such conveniences, from what Sir J. Chardin has told us.

Ruins are indeed not unfrequently made use of in these countries for the sheltering their cattle,‡ and we may very probably suppose Ezekiel thought of this management, when he describes Rabbah as about to be made a place of camels, which is all the original means, I apprehend, the word being by no means so determinate as the English term *stable*, and may as well be understood to signify, that camels should eat the vegetables which should grow in the place where Rabbah then stood, as that they should make use of the ruins of that city for shelter during the night, or in winter, for their camels, which the term *stable* seems to imply. So it is translated *pastures*, Psal. xxiii. 2.

OBSERVATION VII.

OF THE RECHABITES, BARBARY ARABS, AND ITINERANT VILLAGES OF MOORS.

But they not only feed their flocks and their herds, it seems, they sometimes also sow corn in these lands, according to Maillet.

* Ezek. xx. 5. † P. 169. ‡ Maundrell, p. 19, and many other authors.

This, however, is not so readily admitted as the other. In Barbary, indeed, it appears to be very common; but that it is not so agreeable to the people of Egypt, we may learn from what Capt. Norden relates of a Bedouin in Egypt, whose name was Hasser Abuaffi, who dwelt near the mountains opposite to Monfaluut, and sowed and planted there, levying a tythe also upon the crops of his subjects, which was without the permission of the government of Cairo, and occasioned a report to be spread every time that the Senschiak went to Monfaluut, that it was determined to make war upon him, though the affair was always accommodated by means of some purses, or other presents that he made.*

May we not from hence conjecture, that the Rechabites did at first conduct themselves as the Arabs of Barbary now do, and some of the Bedouins of Egypt, but that some misunderstandings, of great consequence, arising hence in process of time between them and the children of Israel, and which were owing to wine, Jonadab, who was then the sheekh or head of that family, solemnly charged them for the future never to drink wine, which had been the immediate cause of this terrible feud, nor to attempt to sow any lands, which had been the more remote occasion of it, but to content themselves with feeding their flocks and herds in the common pastures of that country; that so none of these animosities might for time to come arise, and the umbrage they had lately given the Israelites might be forgotten; which injunction of their chief they had sacredly obeyed to the days of the Prophet Jeremiah?

What may appear more extraordinary still is, that these Bedouins, who do sow, are looked upon to be very sagacious in the choice of the lands they cultivate: so the author of the history of the Piratical States of Barbary tells us,† who observes, that the Moors of that country are divided into tribes like the Arabians, and like them dwell in

* Vol. ii. p. 32.

† P. 44, 45.

tents formed into itinerant villages; that "these wanderers farm lands of the inhabitants of the towns, sow and cultivate them, paying their rent with the produce, such as fruits, corn, wax, &c. They are very skilful in choosing the most advantageous soils for every season, and very careful to avoid the Turkish troops, the violence of the one little suiting the simplicity of the other." It appears from Dr. Shaw, that those whom the author of this history of the Piratical States calls Moors, and describes as like the Arabians, are in truth Bedouins, or Arabs.*

One would think that Isaac possessed the like sagacity, when he sowed in the land of Gerar, and received that year an hundred fold, Gen. xxvi. 12. It should seem too, from the circumstances of the story, that those lands Isaac cultivated were like those of these Moors, hired of the fixed inhabitants of the country; there would otherwise have been no pretence for the king of Gerar to have said to him, *Go from us, for thou art mightier than we*, v. 16. To have said to a person of Isaac's power, who cultivated lands in the neighbourhood of Gerar, but to which Gerar had no right, *depart*, would have been an insolence which that king would hardly have ventured upon; but if the right of *farming* these lands depended on agreements made with Gerar, the king of that country might, after reaping the crop, gracefully enough refuse his permission a second time, and assign this as the reason.

OBSERVATION VIII.

ROBBING THE SEEDSMEN WHEN SOWING THEIR CORN IN PALESTINE.

Inconsistent then as this flitting kind of life seems to be with agriculture, the more peaceful Bedouins of these times still practise it, as the Patriarchs sometimes did of old; but there are other Arabs, that rather supply themselves with corn by violence than by tillage.

* P. 220, &c.

The account prefixed to those noble Ruins of Balbec, published in 1757, mentions one kind of depredation I never before took notice of, and which deserves particular attention: it is the robbing the husbandmen of their seed corn. The valley in which Balbec stands, though very rich, and capable of being made a most delightful spot, produces very little wood; and indeed "though shade," says the ingenious publisher of these drawings,* "be so essential an article of Oriental luxury, yet few plantations of trees are seen in Turkey, the inhabitants being discouraged from labours which produce such distant and precarious enjoyment, in a country where even the annual fruits of their industry are uncertain. In Palestine we have often seen the husbandman sowing, accompanied by an armed friend, to prevent his being robbed of the seed."

The overrunning desolate countries by the Arabs is mentioned in Ezek. xxv. 4; and their lying in wait for prey, Jer. iii. 2; and this robbing the husbandman of his seed, seems also to have been an ancient practice of theirs, and to have been referred to Ps. cxxvi. 5, 6, and made an image, by the Psalmist, of the happy issue of the first essay of the Jews to repeople their country: for surely it is much more natural to suppose these verses refer to violences of this sort, than to imagine with many interpreters, indeed all, for aught I know, that have touched on this circumstance, that they allude to a countryman's anxiety who sows his corn in a very scarce time, and is afraid of the failure of the next crop.

The Israelites that returned from Babylon, upon the proclamation of Cyrus, were undoubtedly in similar circumstances to husbandmen sowing their corn, amidst surrounding encampments of oppressive Arabs. Their rebuilding their towns and their temple resembled a time of sowing, for from these things they were willing to hope for a great increase of people; but they that continued in Babylon had reason to be jealous that the neighbouring

* P. 5.

nations would defeat these efforts, and destroy these rising settlements. A sacred historian expressly mentions such difficulties: *When Sanballat, and Tobiah, and the Arabians, and the Ammonites, and the Ashdodites, heard that the walls of Jerusalem were made up, and that the breaches began to be stopped, then they were very wroth, and conspired all of them together, to come and to fight against Jerusalem, and to hinder it.* Neh. iv. 7, 8. Nor was it difficult to forsee these oppositions: the Arabs had undoubtedly pastured their flocks and herds, and pitched their tents all over Judea when left desolate, and perhaps others of the neighbouring nations had seized upon some of the dispeopled districts, that lay most convenient for them; it was then the interest of the Arabs, and of such other nations, to discourage as much as possible the return of Israel in any numbers into the country of their fathers. In opposition to this jealousy the Prophet expresses his hope, perhaps predicts, that there would be a happy issue of these beginnings to repeople their country. "Make the people of our captivity to return, O LORD! into their country, like the streams of the south, to cause these deserts to flourish again; let them be persuaded, that though these expectations of repeopling their country with an anxiety like that of a poor husbandman, that goes forth weeping, for fear he should be robbed of his seed, should for the present fail, they shall feel a joy hereafter like his, when he brings back his sheaves with rejoicing, in the thorough re-establishment of Israel in Judea, so as to have no cause to apprehend any thing from the surrounding nations."

OBSERVATION IX.

ROBBING THE HARVEST; SOWING DIFFERENT KINDS OF GRAIN IN THE WINTER.

If they rob the countryman of his seed corn, much more is it to be thought they often seize on the corn, and other fruits of the earth, when growing ripe.

So Egmont and Heyman, in their travels in Galilee, found a large plain bordering on the lake of Tiberias, which was sown with rice, but to which they perceived the Arabians had already paid a visit, though great part of the corn was not then ripe.*

But what I would rather observe here is, that they treat the fruit trees after the same manner, and oblige the inhabitants of these countries to gather their fruits before they are ripe, when they apprehend any danger from these mischievous neighbours. So Maillet ascribes the alteration for the worse, that is found in the wine of a province in Egypt, which formerly produced wine of that excellence, as to be esteemed the third best of all those that were drank at Rome, to the precipitation, in a great measure, with which they now gather the grapes.† The cause of this, which occasions so bad an effect, he gives an account of in the following page, saying, "that this province of Fioum is surrounded with Arabs, who frequently make excursions into it, especially in the season in which fruits begin to ripen, which that district produces in great abundance. It is to save them from the depredations of the Arabs, that the inhabitants of this country gather them before they come to maturity, sending them to Cairo, where they find no difficulty to dispose of them, though they are not ripe."

It is this circumstance, I imagine, that must explain the passage of the Prophet,‡ *Behold, the day is come, saith the* LORD, *that the ploughman shall overtake the reaper, and the treader of grapes him that soweth seed, and the mountains shall drop sweet wine, and all the hills shall melt.* That is, the days shall come when the grapes shall not be gathered, as they were wont before to be, in a state of immaturity, for fear of Arabs or other destroying nations, but they shall be suffered to hang even till the time of ploughing, so perfect shall be the security of those times.

* Vol. ii. p. 37. † Let. 8. p. 294, 295. ‡ Amos ix. 13.

This explanation removes the difficulty that might otherwise rise here: for the rains falling in the beginning of November in the Holy Land, and the sowing following immediately after, what would there be astonishing in the treader of grapes overtaking or meeting with him that soweth seed, since the travels of Egmont and Heyman* expressly affirm, that the vintage of Aleppo lasts from the 15th of September, to the same day of November. And I have elsewhere shown,† that the vegetable productions of Judea, Aleppo, and Barbary, are nearly contemporary. It is certain, that nothing, according to those travellers, is more common at Aleppo, than this running of the vintage and sowing season into one, since in the same page that they affirm that the vintage lasts to the 15th of November, they say, the sowing season begins there toward the close of October, and lasts all November.

The grape, however, ripens much sooner: for Dr. Shaw, who tells us, agreeably to Egmont and Heyman's account, that in Barbary the grape is ready for the vintage in September, tells us also that it *ripens* toward the latter end of July;‡ and consequently, when surrounded with Arabs, Judea, through fear of them, became obliged to hurry on the vintage, it might be over some months before the sowing time began, but the wine made in this manner could not be *sweet* wine. On the other hand, though the grapes of Judea might be sufficiently ripened by the vintage in common by September, yet it being very well known,§ that their hanging long on the trees makes the wine much richer, more generous, and sweet; the delaying the time of treading grapes there till the time of sowing, perfectly well answers the latter part of the verse, *And the mountains shall drop sweet wine.* Answerable

* V. ii. p. 348. † Ch. 1. Obs. xxi. ‡ P. 146.

§ Voy. le Dict. des Drogues, par Mons. Lemery dans l'Art. Vinum. "Quand on veut faire le vin muscat, on laisse *bien* meurir le raisin muscat, puis on *en tord* la grape sur la vigne, afin qu'elle ne receive plus de nourriture, et que ses grains soient *secs* ou *un peu rotis* par l'ardeur du Soleil, &c.

to this, la Roque found the monks of Canubin in Mount Lebanon absent from their monastery, for the most part, and busied in their vintage,* when he was there the end of October, or beginning of November, who are noted for the richness and excellence of their wines.†

And as the *treader of grapes*, was to overtake him *that sowed seed*, so also was the *ploughman*, according to the Prophet, to overtake the *reaper:* that is, I apprehend, no fear of approaching enemies should engage the ploughman to discontinue his employment, but he should go on cultivating the ground, in the pleasurable hope of enjoying *all* the various productions of the field till harvest began.

The harvest, I have already observed,‡ may be reckoned to begin about the middle of May, N. S. the ploughman at Aleppo begins his work about the latter end of September, sowing his earliest wheat about the middle of October, and as the frosts are never severe enough to prevent his ploughing all winter, so they continue there to sow all sorts of grain to the end of January, and barley sometimes after the middle of February,§ and this, I think, according to O. S. and consequently barley is, according to this account, sown in the end of February, N. S. or the beginning of March.

The work of the ploughman does not terminate upon sowing barley in the Holy Land. Mr. Maundrell, who left Jerusalem April 15th O. S. and consequently the 26th, as we now reckon, found the country people every where at plough in the fields then, in order to sow cotton.¶ This ploughing made a near approach to their harvest.

According to Russell,‖ a great variety of vegetables is sown in the eastern fields, some of which are sown very late in the spring as well as cotton; water melons in par-

* Voy. de Syrie, tome 1. p. 54. † P. 55. ‡ Ch. 1. Obs. xxi.

§ Russell, Vol. i. p. 73. ¶ P. 110. ‖ Vol. i. p. 74.

ticular, and other vegetables of that tribe,* which are so cooling, and consequently of such importance to render life agreeable in those hot countries.

These pleasing expectations were, however, often disappointed, and this latter cultivation of their grounds prevented by the irruption of enemies, who broke into their country before their barley and wheat were ripe, and consequently before their harvest began. So we find the Midianites, with the Amalekites, and the rest of the children of the East, came up against the Israelites, and encamped against them, and destroyed the increase of the earth, and left no sustenance to Israel, Judges vi. 3, 4. Israel, then, instead of going on with the cultivation of their grounds, withdrew into dens on the mountains, and caves, and strong holds, v. 2; and threshed what little corn they could save out of their hands by stealth, v. 11.

Amos then speaks of the perfect quiet and freedom from disturbances in that country, in those days to which the prophecy relates; whereas all commentators, so far as I have observed, suppose this passage either expresses the temperateness of the seasons only, or the abundance of the productions of the earth in those times, neither of which is the complete thought of the Prophet, though they may be both indirectly involved in his words. The following words of *building the waste cities, and inhabiting them, planting vineyards and drinking the wine of them, making gardens and eating the fruit thereof,* perfectly agree with this explanation. But it very ill suits with the opinion of those that suppose abundance only is intended, that the first part of the verse in that view only speaks of abundance of work, long continued ploughing, and says nothing of the plenty of the crop; for which reason, I suppose, it was, that the Septuagint, not entering into the view of the prophecy, translated the words *the time of harvest shall overtake the vintage,* &c.

* See Pococke's Travels, Vol. ii. p. 164.

OBSERVATION X.

ARABS LIE IN WAIT FOR TRAVELLERS AND CARAVANS, IN ORDER TO ROB THEM.

GREAT is the attention with which the Arabs watch for passengers, whom they may spoil.

Jeremiah refers to this watching of theirs, ch. iii. 2, *In the ways hast thou sat for them, as the Arabians in the wilderness.*

Every one knows the general intention of the Prophet, but the MS. of Chardin has given so strong and lively a description of the eagerness that attends their looking out for prey, that I am persuaded my readers will be pleased with it. "Thus the Arabs wait for caravans with the most violent avidity, looking about them on all sides, raising themselves up on their horses, running here and there to see if they cannot perceive any smoke, or dust, or tracks on the ground, or any other marks of people passing along."

OBSERVATION XI.

ARABS RIDE INTO HOUSES IN ORDER TO ROB THEM.

AMONG other violences of the Arabs, that of *riding into the houses* of those they mean to harrass, is not one of the least observable; the rather, as it seems to be referred to in the Scriptures.

To prevent this insult, and the mischief these Arabs might do them, Thevenot tells us,* that the door of the house in which the French merchants lived at Rama, was not three feet high, and that all the doors of that town are equally low, to hinder the Arabs from entering their houses on horseback; and afterward speaks of a large

* Part 1. p. 118.

door going into the church at Bethlehem, which has been walled up, and only a wicket left in it three feet high, and two feet wide, to hinder the Arabs from entering the church with their horses. Other authors have made the like observations.*

Now may not that passage in the Proverbs refer to this, *He that exalteth his gate, seeketh destruction, or calamity?* ch. xvii. 19. The Royal Preacher elsewhere says, *Pride goeth before destruction, and an haughty spirit before a fall;* and again, *Before destruction, the heart of man is haughty, and before honor is humility;* which seem to be the same thought in general with that of the text I am considering: if then he thought fit to come to particulars, why is the height of the gate of an haughty person mentioned, rather than other circumstances of magnificence in a building? rather than the wideness of the house, the airiness of the rooms, the cutting out windows, the cedar ceilings, and the vermillion, which are all mentioned by Jeremiah as pieces of grandeur?† It can hardly be imagined that Solomon mentioned the stateliness of the gateway of an house, without a particular meaning; but if bands of Arabs had taken the advantage of large doors to enter into houses that stood in the confines of Solomon's kingdoms, or of neighbouring countries with which the Jews were well acquainted, there is a most graceful vivacity in the apophthegm.

I do not know whether there is not another passage that refers to this riding into houses, I mean Zeph. i. 8, 9. *I will punish the princes, and the king's children, and all such as are clothed with strange apparel. In the same day, also, will I punish all those that leap upon the threshold, which fill their master's houses with violence and deceit.* Those that wear strange apparel; these are words that in this connexion seem only to mean the rich

* Sandys, p. 117. Le Bruyn, tome 2. p. 224. Egmont and Heyman, vol. i. p. 300.

† Ch. xxij. 14.

that were conscious of such power and influence, as to dare time of oppression and danger, to avow their riches, and who therefore were not afraid to wear the precious manufactures of strange countries,* though they were neither magistrates, nor yet of royal descent. A great number of attendants is a modern piece of oriental magnificence, as I shall hereafter have occasion to remark, it appears to have been so anciently, Eccles. v. 11; these servants, now, it is most certain, frequently attend their master on horseback, richly attired, sometimes to the number of twentyfive or thirty:† if they did so anciently, with a number of servants attending great men, who are represented by this very Prophet as at that time in common terrible oppressors, ch. iii. 3, may be naturally supposed to ride into people's houses, and having gained admission by deceit, to force from them by violence considerable contributions: for this riding into houses is not now only practised by the Arabs, it consequently might be practised by others, too, anciently. It is not now peculiar to the Arabs, for le Bruyn, after describing the magnificent furniture of several of the Armenian merchants at Julfa, that suburb of Ispahan in which they live, tells us, that the front door of the greatest part of these houses is very small, partly to hinder the Persians from entering into them on horseback, and partly that they may less observe the magnificence within. To which ought to be added, what he elsewhere observes, that these Armenians are treated with great rigour and insolence by the Persians. If this text refers to a violence of this sort, they are the thresholds of the oppressed over which they leaped, not the thresholds of the oppressive masters, which some have supposed, when they returned laden with spoil.

As to the opinion, that the Prophet alludes here to the idolatrous observance that obtained among the worship-

* So fine linen and broidered work, which the great were, are represented as the produce of Egypt by the prophet Ezekiel, ch. xxvii. 7.

† Voy. Maillet, Let. 12. p. 168.

pers of Dagon, 1 Sam. v. 5, it can have nothing to recommend it, I think, but its being proposed by so old a writer as the Chaldee Paraphrast.

OBSERVATION XII.

ASSOCIATION OF ARAB TRIBES, IN ORDER TO DEFEND THEMSELVES, AND ANNOY PASSENGERS.

THESE and other violences of the Arabs frequently draw upon them alarms, and occasion them to live in a state of apprehension. For this reason, those of the same family or clan usually live near one another, in order to be mutually assisting to each other.

Thus the eighteen Arab Emirs of the family that d'Arvieux visited, kept near one another, encamping at no greater distance from their chief than a league or two,* and all removing together every month, sometimes every fortnight, as their cattle wanted fresh pasture, in order to be able to assemble together with ease. May not this circumstance serve to explain the words of the angel, *He*, Ishmael, *shall dwell in the presence of all his brethren*? It is not, indeed, one of the several senses the Synopsis Criticorum of Pool has given of that clause, but is it not as natural as any of them? I am sure it agrees as well with the preceding part of the prophecy, *He will be a wild man; his hand will be against every man, and every man's hand against him*, and therefore he will find it requisite not to suffer his descendants and friends to live dispersed up and down, but to require them to encamp together.

So did not Abraham. The measures that he and the other pacific Patriarchs took, were very different from Ishmael's, and those of the modern Arabs. When the flocks and the herds of Abraham multiplied, he thought it best that he and his nephew Lot should part; and Ja-

* La Roque Voy. dans la Pal. p. 105, 106.

cob, instead of removing his tents every time it became requisite to seek new pasture, detached his sons from him, and sometimes to a considerable distance, Gen. xxxvii. And indeed the Angel in fortelling that Ishmael should be a wild man, *his hand against every man, and every man's hand against him*, plainly intimates that his way of life would greatly differ from that of his father Abraham, if the prophecy do not even point out a kind of life until then unknown. It is certain most, if not all, of those that live this kind of life, derive their descent from Ishmael.

OBSERVATION XIII.

SUDDEN DECAMPMENTS OF THE ARABS, AND RETREAT INTO THE DESERTS WHEN PURSUED BY THEIR ENEMIES.

When the Arabs have drawn upon themselves such a general resentment of the more fixed inhabitants of those countries, that they think themselves unable to stand against them, they withdraw into the depths of the great wilderness, where none can follow them with hopes of success.

The same thing is mentioned by other writers: by d'Arvieux among the rest,* who tells us, they will be quite ready to decamp upon less than two hours' warning, and retiring immediately into the deserts, render it impossible to other nations, even the most powerful, to conquer them; they not daring to venture far into the deserts, where the Arabs alone know how to steer their course so as to hit upon places of water and forage.

Is it not then most probable that the *dwelling deep*, which Jeremiah recommends to the Arab tribes, ch. xlix. 8, 30, means this plunging far into the deserts; rather

* La Roque Voy. dans la Pal. p. 190, 191

than going into deep caves and dens, as Grotius and other commentators suppose? That way of endeavouring to avoid the fury of an enemy was indeed practised, not only before the days of the Prophet, see Judges vi. 2, 1 Sam. xiii. 5, but long after, as we see in the Crusade writers;* but those learned men will find it extremely difficult, I believe, to produce any passages that show that the Arabs who live in tents were wont to look upon this as a proper method for them to take: their way is to retire far into the deserts, not enter into the bowels of the earth: and so far are they from making caves their refuge, that it is observed of this nation, that when they possess cities and palaces, they never will dwell in them, looking upon such places rather as traps, than places of defence,† as in similar cases they were looked upon anciently.‡ All those places of the Crusade writers that I have marked in the bottom of the page, and which relate to retiring into caves to avoid danger, speak of a people that lived a *settled* kind of life, not a *flitting* one in tents.

That Hazor, which is directed to get far off, and to *dwell deep*,§ was a nation that lived in tents, appears from this very paragraph of the Prophet, *Arise*, said Nebuchadnezzar to his people when he conceived a purpose against Hazor, *get ye up to the wealthy nation that dwelleth without care, which have neither gates nor bars, which dwell alone.* A plain description of the Bedouin way of living; and therefore this *dwelling deep* hardly admits of any other meaning if we would interpret the Scriptures from Eastern customs.¶

I cannot but observe further, that the words the Prophet uses perfectly agree with this explanation, not with that of Grotius, *Flee, get you far off, dwell deep*, &c. The caves to which the Eastern people have been wont

* Gesta Dei per Francos p. 400, 731, 781.

† Sandys, p. 158. La Roque Voy. dans la Pal. p. 111.

‡ 1 Sam. xxiii. 7. § Jer. xlix. 30.

¶ "The Bedouins, near Aleppo," says Dr. R. "who encamp near the *gates* in the *spring*, inhabit *grottoes* in the *winter*." MS. note.

to retire, are in their very towns, or in the neighbourhood of their dwellings, at least not far off. Such was that which Asa made, Jer. xli. 7, 9.

As the same term of dwelling deep is applied to Dedan, it is reasonable to suppose they also were a tribe of Arabs that lived in tents. The learned, from other considerations, have said the same thing.*

This sense of the original word, according to which *deep* is used for *far off*, seems to be confirmed by other places: *deeply revolting from* God, Isai. xxxi. 6, signifying departing far from him; and *people of a deep lip*, or *speech*, Ezek. iii. 5, 6, meaning people that used the language of some remote country.†

OBSERVATION XIV.

THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED, AND OF THE MANNER IN WHICH THE ARABS ELUDE THEIR PURSUERS.

As the Arabs can, in this manner, withdraw out of the reach of very potent enemies, so can they, if provoked,

* Vide Vitringæ Com. in Jes. xxi. 13.

† 'To what Mr. Harmer has adduced on this subject, I add,' says Mr. Parkhurst, from *Diodorus Siculus*, speaking of the ancient Arabs, lib. xix. p. 722, Οταν πολεμιων δυναμις αδρα προσιη, φευγεσιν εις την ερημον, ταυτη χρωμενοι οχυρωματι. 'When a strong body of enemies approach, they flee *into the desert*, making this their fortress.' So Niebuhr remarks concerning their descendants, Description de l'Arabie, p. 329, that 'The sultan could never impose a Turkish governor on the wandering Arabian tribes; for as every particular family may abandon its tribe when not pleased with the reigning *Sheekh*, toute la tribu se retireroit bientot au fond du desert, *all the tribe would soon retire to the bottom of the desert*, if it should be attempted to make them obey a Turkish governor.' And of the *Montefik* Arabs who encamp on the banks of the Euphrates near *Basra*, Niebuhr observes, Voyage, tom. 2. p. 199, 'When the Pasha of Bagdad sends troops against this tribe, it retires as soon as it receives the intelligence *to the bottom of the desert*, whither the Turks dare not follow.' Once more, Mons. Savary, Lettre 1. sur l'Egypte, tom. 2. p. 8, says concerning the wandering or Bedouin Arabs, 'Always on their guard against tyranny, on the least discontent that is given them, they pack up their tents, lade their camels with them, ravage the flat country, and, laden with plunder, *plunge*, s'enfoncent, into the burning sands, whither none can pursue them, and where they alone dare dwell.' See Parkhurst's Heb.

occasion them very great distress, it not being possible to be always guarded against them. Some time ago the public papers gave an account of their destroying many thousands of the Mecca pilgrims, upon some disgust the Turkish government had given them, and filling the whole country with lamentation.* Nor does the victoriousness of the most successful princes intimidate them in many cases. Thus Curtius tells us, they set upon the troops of Alexander himself, the mighty conqueror of Asia, when they found them unguarded in Lebanon, and slew some, and took others.† It is to these insults of theirs, I suppose, that Jeremiah refers, when, after foretelling the success of Nebudchadnezzar in Egypt, he says, that *he should go forth thence in peace*, Jer. xliii. 12.

The deserts that lie between Egypt and Syria are at this day terribly infested by the wild Arabs. "In travelling along the seacoast of Syria, and from Suez to Mount Sinai," says Dr. Shaw,‡ "we were in little or no danger of being robbed or insulted; In the Holy Land and upon the Isthmus betwixt Egypt and the Red Sea, our conductors cannot be too numerous." He then goes on to inform his readers, that when he went from Ramah to Jerusalem, though the pilgrims themselves were more than six thousand, and were escorted by four bands of Turkish infantry, exclusive of three or four hundred Spahees cavalry, yet were they most barbarously insulted and beaten by the Arabs. The same desert, between Gaza and Egypt, appears to have been a scene of injuries also in the time of St. Jerom;§ and to have been under the power of the Arabs much more anciently still; for la Roque, in a note on that passage of d'Arvieux which I cited under the last article, observes that Cambyses, a little after Nebuchadnezzar's time, was enabled to pass through these deserts by means of those supplies of wa-

* About the year 1758, Voy. Niebuhr, p. 331. † Lib. iv. c. 2.

‡ Pref. p. 9, 10. § Vide Hier. in Vita Hilar. v. i. p. 242.

ter an Arab prince conveyed to him. A conquering prince's passing out of a country which he had perfectly subdued, in peace, would not in common have been the subject of a prediction; but in this case, as it was the passing through deserts where the Arabs at that time were, as they still are, so much masters, who were not afraid upon occasion to insult the most victorious princes, the mentioning this circumstance was not unworthy of the spirit of prophecy.

This may lead us also, perhaps, to the true sense of the preceding words, *And he shall array himself with the land of Egypt, as a shepherd putteth on his garment*, a sense which is not to be met with, I think, in the voluminous collections of Pool, nor so far as I know, any where else; for I should suppose it signifies, that just as a person appearing to be a shepherd, passed unmolested in common by the wild Arabs, so Nebuchadnezzar, by his subduing Egypt, shall induce the Arab tribes to suffer him to go out of that country unmolested, the possession of Egypt being to him what a shepherd's garment was to a single person: for though, upon occasion, the Arabs are not afraid to affront the most powerful princes, it is not to be imagined that conquest and power have no effect upon them. *They that dwell in the wilderness*, says the Psalmist, referring to these Arabs, *shall bow before him*, whom he had described immediately before, *he having dominion from sea to sea, and from the river to the ends of the earth*, and which he unquestionably supposes was the great inducement to that submission.

Thus the Arab that was charged with the care of conducting Dr. Pococke to Jerusalem, after secreting him for some time in his tent, when he took him out into the fields, to walk there, put on him his striped garment;* apparently for his security, and that he might pass for an Arab. So d'Arvieux, when he was sent by the consul of Sidon to the camp of the Grand Emir, equipped himself

* Vol. ii. p. 6.

for the greater security exactly like an Arab, and accordingly passed unmolested, and unquestioned.

The employment of the Arabs is to feed cattle, and consequently a shepherd's garment may mean the same thing with the Arab dress. Or if it signifies something different, as there are Rushwans and Turcomans about Aleppo, who live in tents and feed cattle, much as the Arabs do, according to Dr. Russell; and as a passage in Isaiah, ch. xiii. 20, seems to insinuate there was a like distinction in his time, *Neither shall the Arabian pitch tent there, neither shall the shepherds make their fold there;* that different dress of a shepherd, whatever it was, must equally protect a person in those deserts, for there would be no such thing as feeding of cattle in them, if such sort of persons were molested by the Arabs as passengers are.

OBSERVATION XV

THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED, IN ILLUSTRATION OF ISA. LXIII. 13, 14.

It will greatly add to the beauty of the image made use of by the Prophet Isaiah, where he compares the escape of Israel from Pharaoh, through the Red Sea, to the motion of a horse in the wilderness, and the passing of a herd into the valley,* if we understand it as a reference to the flying of the wild Arabs of the Desert from their enemies, by which they secure their liberties, and avoid the effects of the ambition of great princes, desirous of enslaving as many of mankind as they can; yet, I think, it has never been considered in that light.

The passage I refer to lies thus in our common translation: *That led them through the deep, as a horse in the Wilderness, that they should not stumble? As a beast goeth down into the valley, the Spirit of the* LORD *caus-*

* Chap. lxiii. 13, 14.

ed him to rest; so didst thou lead thy people, to make thyself a glorious name. I do not know how it affects the mind of other people; but understood as merely referring to the unobstructed running of a single horse in a plain, and the descent of a beast into a valley to take its repose there, it seems to me too low and unanimated, especially considering the manner in which this Prophet is wont to write. More surprising still, when we recollect that the Prophet is here describing a scene by which GOD acquired to himself a glorious name, and which, consequently, demanded the greatest strength and magnificence of thought.

The Bishop of London, who so often assists us through the difficulties that occur in reading this Prophet, fails us here, only translating the words after this manner:

"Leading them through the abyss, like a courser in the plain, without obstacle.

"As the herd descendeth to the valley, the Spirit of JEHOVAH conducted them:

"So didst thou lead thy people, to make thyself a name illustrious."

And giving a different reading or two in a note on the 14th verse.

The manner in which his Lordship has pointed these verses is, undoubtedly, an improvement, as are also some things in the translation; but still an uneasy sensation is felt, arising from something like meanness in the metaphors here made use of, though it is somewhat abated in his translation.

Nor does it appear why, in order to rest, an *herd* should descend *into a valley*. According to Dr. Shaw, the *hills* must afford them as pleasing and comfortable places for their repose, as the vallies. The eastern hills, according to this agreeable writer, are oftentimes stocked "with shrubs and a delicate short grass, which the cattle are more fond of, than of such as is common to fallow ground and meadows. Neither is the grazing and feeding of cat-

tle peculiar to Judea; it is still practised all over mount Libanus, the Castravan mountains, and Barbary, where the higher grounds are appropriated to this use, as the plains and vallies are reserved for tillage. For, besides the good management and economy, there is this further advantage in it, that the milk of cattle fed in this manner is far more rich and delicious, at the same time their flesh is more sweet and nourishing.*

A page or two after he tells us, "Even at present, notwithstanding the want there has been for many ages of proper culture and improvement, yet the plains and vallies, though as fruitful as ever, lie almost entirely neglected, whilst every little hill is crowded with inhabitants. The reason is plain and obvious; inasmuch as they find here sufficient conveniences for themselves, and much greater for their cattle. For they themselves have bread to the full: whilst their cattle browse upon richer herbage; and both of them are refreshed by springs of excellent water, too much wanted, especially in the summer season, not only in the plains of this, but of other countries in the same climate."†

If the account is just, a reader may wonder why the Prophet mentions an herd's descending into a valley, in order to its resting.

But if we consider this metaphor as pointing at what happens among the wild Arabs, every part of it will appear, I apprehend, perfectly clear and just; and the image will be placed in a point of light in which it will strike us both with its liveliness and magnificence.

I would begin the explanation of the passage, by observing that the original Hebrew word סוס, *sus*, in the singular signifies not only a *single horse*, but *cavalry*, or a number of horses with riders on them: just as we use the word *horse* to express a single animal of that species; and at other times use it to express the horsemen of an army. Thus the word Exod. xiv. 9, 23, to express the

* P. 338. ed. 1757, 4to † P. 340.

horse of Pharaoh's army that pursued after the Israelites. Now if it expresses the horses of the Egyptian army, it may as well here express the horse of the inhabitants of the wilderness, that is, the Arab horse or cavalry.

For in the Scriptures the Arabs are represented as distinguished from other nations, by their abode in the wilderness of the East. Jer. iii. 2, is a sufficient proof of this; *Lift up thine eyes to the high places, and see where thou hast not been lien with: in the ways hast thou sat for them, as the Arabian in the wilderness, and thou hast polluted the land with thy whoredoms.*

The Arab horse are now remarkable for the surprising swiftness with which they withdraw themselves out of the reach of mighty princes, who have sometimes attempted to pursue them. I have elsewhere given an account, from Maillet and de la Roque, of their prodigious swiftness with which they withdraw out of danger: to which I may add, from the last of those two writers, that the great Emir of mount Carmel had a mare, for it seems they ride them in preference to stallions, or even castrated horses, as best suiting them, on account of their greater silence, gentleness, and ability to bear fatigue, hunger, and thirst, which qualities they have found from experience, they possess above the males of that species; I say this prince had a mare, according to him, whom he would not have parted from for five thousand crowns, having carried him three days and three nights together without eating or drinking, and by this means, delivered him out of the hands of those that pursued after him.*

Such an account of the horse of the wilderness, takes away all meanness from this part of the representation of the Prophet, v. 13, and throws the utmost liveliness into the description of the withdrawing of Israel through the Red Sea, from Pharaoh, and escaping out of his hands, when he pursued after them with a great army, and in a terrible rage; yet they were brought off, by a divine

* Voy. dans la Palestine, ch. 11, p. 165.

interposition resembling the amazing escapes of the wild Arabs of the Desert out of the hands of mighty princes, that have sometimes attempted to overtake them; especially when we add, that other eastern horses are wont to move slow, in great pomp, and are vey magnificently harnessed. After this latter manner the Turks are wont to ride,* while *speed* is what the Arabs of the Desert are chiefly concerned about.

If they are not so sure footed as the mule, which I think, Dr. Shaw affirms,† it will account for the mention of not stumbling in this verse comparing the escaping of the Israelites from Pharaoh, to the escape of the Arabs of the wilderness, on the account of its suddenness, remarking at the same time, that no ill accident attended them in this retreat, which sometimes overtakes the swiftest and the surest footed horses.

With respect to the herds going down into the valley, it may be understood two different ways, but each of them a continuation of the same image, of the escape of Arabs from their pursuers.

They decamp upon an alarm, d'Arvieux tells us, according to de la Roque's account, in two hours time, marching all of them off with their cattle, their herds and their flocks, and their families, with their baggage loaded on bullocks, mules, or camels, and immediately plunge into the deserts.‡ As this is done to secrete themselves from their pursuers, however proper and agreeable the hills may be for feeding their cattle, it must be more agreeable for them to withdraw, on such occasions, into some deep sequestered valley, the better to conceal themselves from their enemies that may endeavour to follow them; preferring this to any other place; which is probably what the Prophet here refers to.

It is into such places the Arabs of Barbary at least retire, when they want to lie concealed, according to Dr.

* Niebuhr, Descrip. de l'Arabie, p. 144. † P. 166.

‡ Voy. dans la Palestine, p. 198.

Shaw, who informs us, in the preface to his Travels,* that about the middle of the afternoon they began to look out for the encampments of the Arabs, who to prevent such parties as their's from living at free charges upon them, took care to pitch in woods, vallies, or places the least conspicuous. And that, indeed, unless they discovered their flocks, the smoke of their tents, or heard the barking of their dogs, it was sometimes with difficulty, if at all, they were found.

So after Israel had escaped from the Egyptian army, they laid in a state of safety in the wilderness, with their flocks and herds, and the riches they brought out of Egypt, unattacked afterward by the succeeding king of that country; and in general† unmolested by any of the other bordering nations: like an Arab herd, that having escaped the hands of their enemies, was conducted into some safe retired valley, in order to remain undisturbed, after having felt the anguish of being closely pursued, from which pursuit they hardly had escaped.

Or as the Hebrew word בקעה *bequaâh* seems, strictly speaking, to mean a *narrow pass* through a range of mountains, though it is used in a more general sense for *any vallies*, those of easy access, as well as those that are more difficult,‡ it might be the design of the Prophet to express the state of safety into which God led Israel, by carrying them into the Wilderness, where it would be too difficult for the Egyptians afterward to attack them, and most other nations thereabouts, in like manner, by comparing them to an Arab herd conducted through a *difficult pass* in the mountains, which have been sometimes actually observed in the wilderness between Egypt and

* P. 17.

† My reader, who recollects what is said in Exod. xvii. concerning Amalek, will be sensible why I express myself after this manner upon this subject.

‡ Or more properly, a *cleft, breach*, or *division*, in a mountain or rock; a mountain or rock broken in two, so as to afford a narrow defile or pass. See the following page. EDIT.

Canaan,* by which means they secured themselves from danger, it being unsafe for any to pursue them after they had passed through such a passage in the mountains.

"About four miles before we arrived at Pharan, we passed through a remarkable *breach in a rock;* each side of it as perpendicular as a wall, about eighty feet high, and the breach is about forty broad." "It is at this breach, I imagine, the Horites were smitten," says the celebrated Mr. Wortley Montague,† "four miles beyond the present ruins of Pharan; for having passed this breach, they could make a stand, nor could they well be pursued." Accordingly the word *descend* may be understood to signify plunging deeper into the wilderness, without regard to the height or lowness of the ground.

But if this thought should be looked upon as somewhat strained, the first representation, derived from the Arabs leading their flocks and herds into some sequestered valley, where they may lie unmolested, makes the image of the Prophet a natural and lively representation enough of the state of safety in the Wilderness, into which God conducted Israel through the Red Sea, and sufficiently remote from what is mean and trifling.

OBSERVATION XVI.

ARAB TRIBES FREQUENTLY SPOIL EACH OTHER.

Shepherds however might, in some cases, be ill treated by the Arabs without doubt, for we find that one Arab will sometimes treat another very badly. Thus the author of the account of the ruins of Balbec, describing his journey from Palmyra thither, tells us,‡ that about four hours before their arrival at Carietein, they discovered a party of Arabian horsemen at a distance; to which, had they been superior in number, they must have fallen an

* See Irwin's late Travels from Upper Egypt to Cairo.

† Phil. Trans. vol. lvi. p. 48.

‡ Ruins of Balbec, p. 2.

easy prey, in the languid state to which both their men and horses were reduced, by a march of above twenty hours over the burning sands; but upon their nearer approach they began to retire precipitately, and abandoned some cattle, which their friends seized as a matter of course, "laughing," says he, "at our remonstrances against their injustice." In like manner Egmont and Heyman complain,* that they could not get their Arab tribes to carry them to Tor, in their return from Mount Sinai to Cairo; who gave this reason for their refusal, that they might happen to fall in with some of the Arabians their enemies, and thus lose both their camels and goods.†

The Arabs then treat other Arabs with whom they have misunderstandings in a harsh manner, and perhaps those that only belong to distant tribes, with whom they have no particular connexions of friendship: but this is not all; they often treat their confederates, of a more peaceful turn of mind than themselves, in a very oppressive way, of which the Religious of a convent near Mount Sinai can furnish us with a striking instance, who having by the labour of some days cleansed a capacious cistern near it, which receives its water from the convent, and liberally refreshes therewith the Arabs and their cattle, but was choaked up with an immense quantity of gravel and stone, washed down by severe rains from the mountains, yet were they not suffered to return by these ungrateful Arabs, for whose convenience all this labour had been bestowed, without paying each of them a sultanie, and giving them provisions besides, for the permission. This Dr. Shaw himself was an eyewitness of, it being done while he was there.‡ And yet the chiefs of these neigh-

* Vol. ii. p. 188.

† "The tribes, says Dr. Russell, in his MS. note on this place, being often at war with each other, frequently commit hostilities *which are not for the sake of plunder.*" EDIT.

‡ P. 439.

bouring Arabs, we are expressly told in the travels of Egmont and Heyman, are styled *the defenders of the convent of Mount Sinai.**

That this rapaciousness obtained very early among them, we have reason to believe, since we know that they were in the most ancient times guilty of great violences toward passengers;† and to this rapaciousness the Septuagint seem also to refer, in their representation of David's message to Nabal, *Behold, I have heard that thy shepherds are now shearing for thee, they were with us in the wilderness, and we have not* hindered *them,* ουκ απεκωλυσαμεν, *nor have we* commanded *them,* ουκ ενετειλαμεθα, *all the days of their being in Carmel,* 1 Sam. xxv. 7 This is translating like people perfectly well acquainted with the management of the Arab Emirs, whose manners David, though he lived in the wilderness as they did, had not adopted. One of them at the head of six hundred men, would have *commanded,* from time to time, some provision or other present, from Nabal's servants, for permitting them to feed in quiet; and would have driven them away from the watering place upon any dislike. He had not done either. Nor is this a representation of the Septuagint's: the Hebrew word הכלמנום *heclamenoom,* which we translate *hurt,* the margin tells us signifies *shamed, We shamed them not;* and it is used Jer. xiv. 3, to express a returning from a watering place without water: and the word נפקד *niphkad,* translated *missing,* is the passive of a verb which signifies to *visit,* and perhaps comes to signify missing, or wanting, from something being usually *wanting* where an Arab Emir had *visited.*

Some late authors have represented this address of David to Nabal as a very strange one, and made it one topic of defamation, as if he had the assurance to press Nabal for a supply of his wants, from his not having robbed or hurt his servants, for which he could have no pre-

* Vol. *ii.* p. 157. † See Jer. iii. 2.

tence; and on the old man's declining it, resolving to cut his throat, and those of all his household. It would be an over officious zeal to attempt to justify this design of David, when he himself condemned it, as he certainly did, when he blessed GOD for preventing him, by his providence, from avenging himself with his own hand, 1 Sam. xxv. 32, 33; but it is right to place every action in its true light, as far as possible, and David might certainly very gracefully remind Nabal, that though he was unjustly driven out from the inhabited parts of Judea, and forced to live very like the Arabs of the Desert, and reduced to necessities equal to theirs, he did not imitate their rapaciousness, nor extort the least thing from his servants when they were absolutely in his power, as the Arabs of the wilderness often did; when then in return to all this, Nabal treated him with reproaches, it is the less to be wondered at, that he was wrought up to a rage that prompted him to think of imitating these Arabs among whom he was forced now to dwell, who thought themselves authorized to take from others what they wanted, and even to kill those that resisted, which is what they do this day.* The law of GOD had hitherto restrained him from doing any thing of this kind, made him ackowledge the thought anger had inspired, to be wrong, and engaged him to lay aside the bloody purpose: all this must be allowed to be proper; must a contrary thought, in the paroxysm of his anger, amidst Arab examples, and in a time of much less light and knowledge of the laws of morality than ours, be thought to be absolutely inconsistent with virtue?†

Some tribes of Arabs, however, it ought to be observed, are much less mischievous than others. Of those three

* Voy. dans la Pal. p. 182.

† Indeed the whole scope of the place seems to indicate that David and his men not only did them no wrong, but that they had acted as *guardians* to the property of Nabal, not permitting the rapacious hordes either to plunder the shepherds, or drive off the cattle. EDIT.

tribes which style themselves the defenders of the convent of Mount Sinai, in particular, we are told,* that that tribe, which is the smallest, in point of number, is the most untractable and rapacious of all, making continual demands on the convent; that the second, which is more numerous, is less rapacious; and that the third is far more favourable still to the convent, never using those unjust methods so frequently practised by the first. It was necessary to make this remark before I closed this article, on account of some seeming inconsistency between this and a preceding Observation: an Arab dress, or a shepherd's garment, might be an effectual security as to some tribes; others might, frequently, tyrannize over those that fed their herds and flocks in the desert, though they were at the same time looked upon rather as confederates than enemies.

OBSERVATION XVII.

HOLES AND CAVES IN THE ROCKS, FREQUENT PLACES OF LODGING BOTH FOR DOVES AND FISHERMEN. OF CONSECRATED DOVES AND FISHES.

Sometimes those that have no tents, shelter themselves from the inclemency of the night air, in holes and caverns which they find in their rocky hills, where they can kindle fires to warm themselves, as well as to dress their provisions; to which may be added, that *doves* also, in those countries, frequently haunt such places, as well as some other birds.

Dr. Richard Chandler, in his travels in Asia Minor, has both taken notice of the doves there lodging in holes of the rocks;† and of the shepherds and fishermen being wont to make use of such retreats, and of their kindling fires in them, by which practice those doves must be frequently very much smutted, and their feathers dirtied.‡

* Egmont and Heyman, v. ii. p. 157. † P. 19. ‡ P. 55.

And I have been sometimes ready to imagine, that an attention to these circumstances may afford as easy and natural an account as any that has been given, of that association of such very different things as *doves* and *smoky places*, which we meet with in the lxviiith Psalm.*

It is certain the people of Israel are compared to a dove, in the book of Psalms; *O deliver not the soul of thy turtle dove unto the multitude of the wicked; forget not the congregation of thy poor for ever*, Ps. lxxiv. 19; and the same image appears to have been made use of, in this 68th Psalm. If it was made use of, it was not unnatural to compare Israel, who had been in a very afflicted state in Egypt, to a dove making its abode in the hollow of a rock, which had been smutted by the fires shepherds had made in it for the heating their milk, or other culinary purposes; which led them to make such little heaps of stones, on which they might set their pots, having an hollow under them, in which they put the fuel, according to the Eastern mode, of which I have given an account elsewhere, and which little buildings are meant by the word here translated *pots*.

This image might very properly be made use of to express any kind of affliction Israel might have suffered, when they are compared as a body of people to a dove; and certainly not less so, when they had been forced to work without remission in the brick kilns of Egypt.

For so the sense will be something like this: O my people! though ye have been like a dove in an hole of a rock, that hath been blackened by the fires of the shepherds for the boiling their pots; yet on this joyous occasion did you appear as the most beautiful of that species, whose wings are like silver, and the more muscular parts, from whence the strength of the wings are derived, like the splendour of gold.

* V. 13.

The colour of their common pigeons seems to be like that of the dove house pigeons of our country, blue or ash-colour, from a circumstance mentioned by Pitts;* for he says, "in Mecca there are thousands of blue pigeons, which none will affright, or abuse, much less kill them; and they are therefore so very tame, that they will pick meat out of one's hand. They come in great flocks to the Temple, where they are usually fed by the *Hagges*.† For the poor people of Mecca come to them with a little sort of dish made with rushes, with some corn in it, begging them to bestow something on *Hammamet metta nabee*, i.e. the pigeons of the Prophet."

But though pigeons or doves are in common blue in the East,‡ yet there were some, even anciently, that were more beautiful; witness those lines of Tibullus, which have been cited by commentators on this passage,

> Quid referam, ut volitet crebras intacta per urbes
> *Alba* Palæstino sancta columba Syro ?
>
> ——————— Why should I say,
> How thro' the crowded towns the milk white dove,
> In Syria sacred, may with safety rove ?

Here we see some of the doves of Palestine were white, their wings covered as with silver; they were treated with great respect like the blue pigeons of Mecca, receiving no hurt in populous cities, and were considered as devoted to some deity; but what is meant by the intermingled splendour of gold, does not appear in this quotation, unless we should suppose, it is involved in the circumstance of its being a consecrated animal.

It does not appear to be the description of an animal adorned merely by the hand of nature. We have no accounts, so far as I remember, of a pigeon wholly white,

* P. 127. † The pilgrims.

‡ I have been assured by the gentleman who was at Jerusalem in 1744, the pigeons of that country too are like our pigeons, though he fancied somewhat larger.

except some feathers of the colour of gold on the breast; but it is easy to conceive of a consecrated bird, so adorned by superstition as to answer such a description. The ancient heathens are known to have ornamented their sacred animals with trinkets of gold. The Syrians might thus adorn their sacred doves, and probably did. Something of this kind still remains in those Eastern countries, and is supposed to be a remain of ancient heathenish superstition.

Sir John Chardin twice mentions fishes reputed to be sacred at this day in the East. In his third Vol. he tells us, "that at a town called Comicha, he found in the court yard of a mosque two reservoirs, or basins of water, the one twenty paces from the other, full of fishes, some of which had rings of brass, some of silver, others of gold. I apprehended that these fish had the rings in their nostrils by way of ornament; but, I was informed, it was in token of their being consecrated. None dared to take them: such a sacrilege was supposed most certainly to draw after it the vengeance of the saint to whom they were consecrated; and his votaries, not content to leave them to his resentment, took upon themselves to punish the transgressors. An Armenian Christian was killed upon the spot by one of them, who had ventured to take some of these sacred fish."*

This is a remain of ancient superstition. Dr. Richard Chandler, in his travels in Asia Minor, gives us a note from Ælian,† who speaks of tame fishes, that wore golden necklaces and earrings, in a clear fountain, in a temple belonging to the military Jupiter.

As the worship of the Syrian goddess Astarte was very ancient,‡ to whom the white doves mentioned by Tibullus were consecrated, the superstition of consecrating that animal to her might very possibly, be as ancient as the time of the Psalmist, as also the adorning them with gold; and that he alludes to these circumstances here. Israel is to me as a *consecrated dove*,§ and though

* P. 91. See also p. 143.

† P. 197.

‡ Or Ashtaroth.

your circumstances have made you rather appear like a poor dove, blackened by taking up its abode in a smoky hole of the rocks; yet shall you become beautiful and glorious as a Syrian silver coloured pigeon, on whom some ornament of gold is put.

OBSERVATION XVIII.

CAVES FREQUENT PLACES OF LODGING FOR THE SHEPHERDS IN THE HOLY LAND.

THE Bishop of Waterford has remarked on Zeph. ii. 6, that many manuscripts, and three editions, have a single letter in one of its words more than appears in the common editions,* which, instead of *cherith*, gives us a word which signifies *caves;* and he remarks, that if we adopt this sense, the words must be rendered,

> "And the seacoast shall be sheep cotes,
> *Caves for shepherds*, and folds for flocks."

To this I must add, that this seems to me to be much the most natural reading.

I was just now taking notice, that the Eastern shepherds make use of caves very frequently; sleeping in them, and driving also their flocks into them at night. What I would add here is, that the mountains bordering on the Syrian coast are remarkable for the number of caves in them; and that they are found, in particular, in the neighbourhood of Ashkelon.

Thus we find, in the History of the Crusades, by the Archbishop of Tyre, that that active prince Baldwin I. after the death of his brother Godfrey, and before his own coronation presented himself, with some troops that he had got together, before Ascalon.† That the citizens

* כרות *keroth*, for כרת *kerith*. See Dr. Kennicott's various readings, in loc. EDIT.

† Which our translation renders Ashkelon.

were afraid to venture out to fight with him; upon which, finding it would be of no advantage to continue there, he ranged about the plains which lay between the mountains and the sea, and found villages, whose inhabitants, having left their houses, had retired with their wives and children, their flocks and herds, into subterraneous caves. Being enemies, who had often made incursions into the country between Ramula and Jerusalem,* rendering the roads dangerous, and often destroying travellers, he, upon hearing this, ordered fires to be kindled at the mouths of these caves, that they might be forced by the smoke to surrender themselves to him, or be suffocated. That not being able to bear the heat and the smoke, they did surrender to Baldwin; who, answerable to their deserts, ordered an hundred of them to be beheaded, and seized on the provisions they had laid in for themselves and the cattle with them.†

This shows there were many caves in the neighbourhood of Ashkelon, or some very large ones, to hold such a number of people as is here represented to have been found in them, with their cattle. It is then natural, when Zephaniah is speaking of Israel's afterward feeding their flocks and herds in the territory of Ashkelon, to understand that the conveniences they had there for feeding their cattle, consisted in the caves they found in the neighbouring hills of that country, and the sheltering places they found in the desolated villages, and even in Ashkelon itself; they lodge also among ruins, as is practised at this very day among the Eastern shepherds.‡

* Belonging to the Christian kings of Jerusalem.

† Gesta Dei per Francos, p. 781.

‡ Consequently, if I might venture to attempt a small variation from his Lordship's translation, it should be something like this,

> And the seacoast shall be pastures:
> Caves of shepherds, and folds for flocks.

For the same word in the original is translated *pastures*, Psalm xxiii. 2.

The same historian indeed represents the country about Ascalon as by no means a rich soil, but, on the contrary, so sandy, as only to produce vines and some fruit trees very near the city;* but it is evident, from his own relation in the first cited page,† that the territory of Ascalon was capable of feeding large numbers of cattle, and had, in the time of Baldwin I. many inhabitants whose employment was the tending such. The taking possession then of this country for the enlargement of their pastures, upon their return from captivity, might be mentioned by the Prophet to Israel as an object of desire and hope.

OBSERVATION XIX.

PIETRO DELLA VALLE'S CURIOUS ACCOUNT OF HIS LODGING IN THE WOODS AT MAZENDERAN.

THERE is little or no difficulty, I think, in understanding what the sacred historian says, concerning Jonathan's visiting David when concealed from Saul *in a wood*, mentioned 1 Sam. xxiii. but there is a passage in the Travels of Pietro della Vallè, so picturesque, and bearing such a resemblance to David's situation, though not exactly similar, that my readers, possibly, may not be displeased with seeing it.

Speaking of his passing through a forest or wood in Mazenderan, a province of Persia, into which they entered on the 11th of February, and complaining of the badness and heaviness of the roads there, he tells us, "We did at length master them, but with so much difficulty, that we could not get forward above two leagues that day, and night overtook us before we got through the forest. We endeavoured to find some place of retreat, in different parts, to which the barking of dogs, or the noise made by other animals, seemed to guide us. But at last, finding no in-

* P. 924. † P. 781.

habited place near us, we passed the night in the same forest, among the trees, under which we made a kind of retrenchment with our baggage, in a place where we found many dry leaves that had fallen from the trees. These served us for a carpet and for bedding both, without any other tent than the branches of the great trees there, through which the moonshine reached us, and made a kind of pavilion of cloth and silver. There was no want of wood for the making a great fire, any more than of provisions for supper, which we sent for from the nearest village in the forest, seated by the highway side, where, after some contest with a people, of a savage and suspicious temper, who were ready to come to blows with my messengers, without knowing any reason why they should; they, after coming to a right understanding with us, became very civil, would have lodged us, and made us presents; but on our refusal, on account of the distance of the way, the chief person of the town, with the other principal inhabitants, came, of their own accord, to our camp, laden with good meat and other provisions, and spent the night with us with great gaiety. They even brought us a country musician, who regaled us during supper, and all night long, with certain forest songs, in the language of the country, that is, of Mazenderan, where a course kind of Persian is spoken, sung to the sound of a miserable violin, which was sufficiently tiresome."*

How picturesque! how descriptive of David and his people's lodging in a wood, and the altercations he may be supposed to have had with some of the neighbouring villagers, before he could obtain provisions from them! Whether Jonathan brought a supply of bread, meat, and fruits with him, and even his music, we are not told; but certainly he treated David not only with friendship, but something of deference and respect, which was like an acknowledgment of superiority.

* Tome 3. p. 217, 218.

"David saw that Saul was come out to seek his life: and David was in the wilderness of Ziph, *in a wood.* And Jonathan, Saul's son, arose, and *went to David* into the wood, *and strengthened his hand in* GOD. And he said unto him, Fear not; for the hand of Saul my father shall not find thee; and thou shalt be king over Israel, and I shall be next unto thee: and that also Saul my father knoweth. And they two made a covenant before the LORD: and David abode in the wood, and Jonathan went to his house."*

Certainly Jonathan *did not strengthen his hand in* GOD, by giving him *fresh prophetic* assurances of his after royalty; nor could his *repeating* the declarations of Samuel add much to the fortitude of David's mind; it must, at least, be the winning acquiescence of his friend in the divine arrangement, which was so contrary to the usual emotions of the human heart, as evidently to show the finger of GOD in it; and there might be a princely supply of David's wants in that destitute state, which might greatly encourage him; and the imagination may even go so far, as to suppose he did him the honour of complimenting him with his music.

At worst, della Vallè's account affords an amusing description of *his* lodging in a wood.

OBSERVATION XX.

A SIMILAR CURIOUS ACCOUNT OF LODGING IN THE WOODS, TAKEN FROM DR. CHANDLER.

MEAN as, we are ready to think, their accommodations are, who have no other habitation than tents or caves, many of those who employ themselves in the East in tending cattle customarily lie abroad in the fields with them, without even the shelter of a tent; and this too some of them do when winter approaches.

* Verse 15—18.

Dr. Chandler set out, on his first excursion from Smyrna, the last day of September, and travelled nearly the whole month of October. The following is the account he gives us of one occurrence in this journey: "About two in the morning our whole attention was fixed by the barking of dogs, which, as we advanced, became exceedingly furious. Deceived by the light of the moon, we now fancied we could see a village, and were much mortified to find only a station of poor goatherds, without even a shed, and nothing for our horses to eat. They were lying, wrapped in their thick capots, or loose coats, by some glimmering embers among the bushes in a dale, under a spreading tree by the fold. They received us hospitably, heaping on fresh fuel, and producing kaimac,* or sour curds, and coarse bread, which they toasted for us on the coals. We made a scanty meal, sitting on the ground, lighted by the fire and by the moon; after which, sleep suddenly overpowered me. On waking I found my two companions by my side, sharing in the comfortable cover of the janizary's cloak, which he had carefully spread over us. I was now much struck with the wild appearance of the spot. The tree was hung with rustic utensils; the she-goats, in a pen, sneezed and bleated, and rustled to and fro; the shrubs by which our horses stood were leafless, and the earth bare; a black caldron with milk was simmering over the fire; and a figure, more than ghaunt or savage, close by us, struggling on the ground, with a kid, whose ears he had slit, and was endeavouring to cauterize with a piece of red hot iron."†

It think this may stand as a comment on Ezek. xxxiv. 25: *I will make with them a covenant of peace, and will cause the evil beasts to cease out of the land; and they shall dwell safely in the wilderness, and sleep in the woods.*

* He frequently, in the course of these Travels, mentions these sour curds, as used for food in Asia.

† P. 157

The account Chandler has given is extremely amusing to the imagination, and is, I doubt not, a faithful representation of the state of many of the ancient Israelitish shepherds; but this management must have exposed them to many dangers, if their country, at any time, should be overrun with beasts of prey. The Prophet declares, on the part of GOD, those destructive beasts should be taken away at the time he refers to.

OBSERVATION XXI.

GOAT SKINS USED FOR CARPETS BY THE POORER ARABS.

THE same caution that has engaged the Eastern people in general, that tend cattle, not to sleep in the open air, but to make use of tents, probably engages them not to sit or lie in their tents on the moist ground, but to make use of some kind of carpeting.

The poorer sort of Arabs of our times make use of mats in their tents;* and other inhabitants of these countries, who affect ancient simplicity of manners, make use of goat skins, in a way that may afford an amusing illustration of some passages of the Pentateuch, which relate to the mode of living observed by the Israelites in the Wilderness.

Dr. Richard Chandler, in his Travels in Greece, tells us, that he saw some dervishes at Athens sitting on goat skins; and that he was afterward conducted into a room furnished in like manner, with the same kind of carpeting, where he was treated with a pipe and coffee by the chief dervish.†

Those that are at all acquainted with Oriental manners, in these later times, know that their dervishes, who are a sort of Mohammedan devotees, a good deal resembling the begging friars of the church of Rome, affect great sim-

* Voy. dans la Palestine, par de la Roque, p. 176. † P. 103, 104.

plicity, and even sometimes austerity, in their dress and way of living. As these dervishes that Dr. Chandler visited, sat on goat skins, and used no other kind of carpet for the accommodation of them that visited them; so it should seem that the Israelites in the Wilderness made use of skins for mattresses* to lie upon, and consequently we may equally suppose to sit upon in the daytime, instead of a carpet.

Skins of goats, as well as of sheep and bullocks, must have been among them very valuable things, and as such the priest that offered any burnt offering was to have its skin, Lev. vii. 8.

The Bedouin Arabs, however, are not now unacquainted with those more beautiful carpets that are used in the houses of rich people in those countries, but their princes make use of them in their tents. So d'Arvieux found the great Emir of Mount Carmel sitting in his tent upon a Turkey carpet, when he paid him a visit by order of the king of France;† and de la Roque, in giving an account of this journey, describes the Arab princes as using mattresses, carpets, &c.‡ but how long they have made use of them in their tents may be difficult to determine.

OBSERVATION XXII.

DIFFERENT KINDS OF CARPETING USED IN THE EAST.

I HAVE supposed that the precious clothes for chariots, mentioned by the prophet Ezekiel,§ as carried from Dedan to Tyre, meant carpets; and in another work I have supposed carpets to have been as ancient as the time of Solomon, and those richly wrought with pertinent or useful sentences, agreeable to the present taste of the inhabitants of the East:¶ but perhaps it may be imagined, that

* See Lev. xv. 17.

† Voy. dans la Palestine, p. 6.

‡ P. 177.

§ Ch. xxvii. 20.

¶ Outlines of a New Commentary on Solomon's Song, p. 175, &c.

all this is rather inconsistent with a passage in the book of Judith, and therefore hardly to be admitted.

The passage I refer to is as follows: *So she arose and decked herself with her apparel, and all her woman's attire, and her maid went and laid soft skins on the ground for her, over against Holofernes, which she had received of Bagoas for her daily use, that she might sit and eat upon them.* Ch. xii. 15.

Now it may be said, supposing he was no inspired, or even accurate writer, which qualities can neither of them be with truth applied to him, yet as an ancient author, and one who appears in some other instances to be tolerably well versed in the affairs of the East,* one can hardly imagine carpets were of that high antiquity I have formerly supposed, since he supposes they were nothing more than skins properly prepared, which were used in the tent of Holofernes himself. Consequently, in his time, we may believe carpets were not known, for if they had, he would have introduced them into the tent equipage of this great general of Nabuchodonosor, that mighty and splendid Eastern conqueror; and not described Holofernes rather like a Tartar warrior, than generalissimo of the Assyrians.†

It may be said that so general, so universal is the use of carpets now, that even the great Arab Emir of Mount Carmel was found by d'Arvieux sitting in his tent on a Turkey carpet;‡ and they have so entirely driven out the use of inferior coverings of the earth to sit upon, that we cannot but suppose they would have so far produced a like effect, as to have been used by Holofernes, if rich

* Such as the heat's being sometimes so extreme in the time of barley-harvest, in Judea, as to be fatal, ch. viii. 2, 3, which has been verified by recent instances; and that rain might be hoped for in an extraordinary case so early as September, after the summer's drought, though in common they fall not till October, ch. viii. 31.

† I say of the Assyrians, for Nabuchodonosor, whose general he was, is called king of the Assyrians in the book of Judith.

‡ Voy. dans la Palestine, p. 6.

carpets had been as ancient as the time of Solomon. Or if this history should be found to be fabulous, yet still the author, who must be supposed to have lived later than the times of which he pretended to write the history, consequently would, without fail, have introduced beautiful carpets as one of his decorations, if they had been in frequent use in the time in which he lived.

But I would observe, that though writers take little notice of them, Sir John Chardin assures us, that it is common in Persia, which yet he describes as being in general a very dry country, to place a covering of felt over the ground on which the carpet is laid. "The floors are covered first with a great thick felt, and over that a beautiful carpet, or two, according to the size of the room. Some of these carpets are sixty feet long, and so heavy as scarcely to be carried by two men." He adds, "I have often put my hand under these pieces of felt in the apartments of Ispahan, and elsewhere, which have been laid upon the bare earth, thinking it would be impossible that they should not be found somewhat moist; but I have constantly found them dry. If we were to cover the ground after this manner in Europe with carpets, we should find them rotten in a twelvemonth's time, in the greatest part of its countries."*

The mention of *soft skins* in the tent of Holofernes does not, I think, necessarily suppose they might not be covered over with carpets, as the Persians cover over the felt they use in their apartments. Or if it should be supposed that it does, it only may be a proof, that the Jew who drew up this account lived in some of the moisture provinces of the East, where leather, properly prepared, was made use of to prevent the bad effects of the moisture of the earth on rich carpets, and drew up this history under the influence of the custom of his native province.

This may be sufficient, without adding, that as the inhabitants of these countries now frequently make use of

* Tome 2. p. 54.

furs for the edging, or otherwise decorating their vestments, it is not difficult to conceive of some skins being used as a carpet, which would be not only very beautiful, but esteemed extremely precious too, as well as thought very proper to guard against the moisture of the ground when residing in a tent.*

OBSERVATION XXIII.

FEASTS MADE IN THE EAST ON OCCASION OF SHEEP SHEARING.

THOUGH the festivity of Nabal's sheep shearing is represented as very great, yet I never met with any account of solemnities of this kind in books of travels; and upon enquiring of the Greek gentleman who wrote the History of the Revolt of Ali Bey, I cannot find that the Arabs of that country are wont to make sumptuous entertainments on that occasion: whence I should think we are to conclude, that the wealth of Nabal was not only very great, but that he lived in a princely manner among his countrymen;† and was known to have large stores of provisions, particularly on such rural solemnities.

Such circumstances, put together, naturally invited one in David's situation to apply to him, rather than any other in that part of the country; and led him more severely to resent his insulting neglect.

As to the feasting of the modern Arabs on such occasions, Lusignan's account is nothing more than this, "that the Arabs perhaps kill a lamb at such times, and treat their relations and friends with it, together with new

* The country about Babylon is well known to have been very marshy; and some of the provinces adjoining to the ancient Media, through whose cities the ten tribes were scattered, are described as very moist and warm, Ghilan in particular.

† David might have addressed him as the children of Heth did Abraham. Gen. xxii. 6, *Hear us, my lord: thou art a prince of God,* a mighty prince *among us.*

cheese and milk, and so pass their time somewhat joyously on the occasion."

This is very different from the feast Nabal held when his sheep were shorn;* or, we may believe from the entertainment Absalom prepared for the family of king David, when Amnon was slain.

OBSERVATION XXIV.

OF BINDING SHEEP IN ORDER TO SHEAR THEM, AN ILLUSTRATION OF FIRST SAM. XXV. 1, 8, &c.

Our translators suppose, that the edifice at which Jehu slew the brethren of Ahaziah, king of Judah,† was destined to the sole purpose of shearing of sheep; but as I apprehend the term in the original is ambiguous, which is accordingly literally translated in the margin, *the house of shepherd's binding*,‡ it might be better to use some less determinate word; as the word, I am ready to believe, may signify the binding sheep for shearing; the binding up their fleeces, after those fleeces taken from the sheep beforehand were washed; or the binding the sheep for the purpose of milking. Whether it was erected for all three purposes, or if only for one of them, then for which of the three, it may be very difficult precisely to say.

A pit near such a building must be useful in any of the three cases, for the affording water for the sheep that were detained there for some time, in the first and third case, to drink; and for the washing the wool in the other.

* 1 Sam. xxv. 1, 8, 36; to which is to be added the account given of the plentiful present made to David by Abigail, v. 18, which, large as it was, seems not to have been missed by Nabal, at least did not prevent his celebrating the festival.

† 2 Kings, x. 12, 14.

‡ The term בית עקד *beeth-akad*, in the original, is according to St. Jerom, the name of a town belonging to Samaria: and the Septuagint retain the word as a proper name, Βαιθακαδ. EDIT.

If the intention of the historian had been to describe it as the place appropriated to the shearing of sheep, it would have been natural for him to have used the word that precisely expresses that operation, not such a general term as the *house of binding*.

All know that sheep must be bound, or at least forcibly held, in order to be shorn; and it appears in the Travels of Dr. Richard Chandler in the Lesser Asia, that "the shepherds there, sitting at the mouth of the pen, were wont to seize on the ewes and she goats, each by the hind leg, as they pressed forward, to milk them;* which seizing them, sufficiently shows they must be held, shackled, or somehow bound when milked.

In another Observation I have taken notice of the readiness of great men, in the East, to repose themselves, when fatigued, under the shelter of roofs of a very mean kind; the brethren, it seems, of Ahaziah anciently did the same thing. But they found no more safety in this obscure retreat, than they would have found in the palaces of either Samaria or Jezreel.

The slaying them at the pit, near this place, seems to have been owing to a custom at that time, whether arising from superstition, to preserve the land from being defiled, or any other notion, does not at first sight appear; but it was, it seems, a customary thing at that time to put people to death near water, at least near where water was soon expected to flow, as appears from 1 Kings xviii. 40.

OBSERVATION XXV.

PRECAUTIONS TAKEN TO PREVENT THE MOVING SANDS FROM CHOAKING UP THEIR WELLS.

In Arabia, and in other places, they are wont to close and cover up their wells of water, lest the sand, which is

* P. 278.

put into motion by the winds there, like the water of a pond, should fill them, and quite stop them up.*

This is the account Sir J. Chardin gives us in his MS. in a note on Psal. lxix. 15. I very much question the applicableness of this custom to that passage, but it will serve to explain, I think, extremely well, the view of keeping that well covered with a stone, from which Laban's sheep were wont to be watered; and their care not to leave it open any time, but to stay till the flocks were all gathered together, before they opened it, and then, having drawn as much water as was requisite, to cover it up again immediately, Gen. xxix. 2, 8.

Bishop Patrick supposed it was done to keep the water clean and cool. Few people, I imagine, will long hesitate in determining which most probably was the view in keeping the well covered with so much care.

All this care of their water is certainly very requisite, since they have so little, that Chardin in another part of his MS. supposes, "that the strife between Abraham's herdmen and Lot's† was rather about water, than pasturage;" and immediately after observes, "that when they are forced to draw the water for very large flocks, out of one well, or two, it must take up a great deal of time."

OBSERVATION XXVI.

THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED, IN ILLUSTRATION OF GEN. XXIX. 1, &c.

CHARDIN also gives us to understand, in the sixth Vol. of his MS. that he as known wells or cisterns of water locked up in the East; and if not, that some person is so far the proprietor, that no one dares to open a well or cistern, but in his presence. He has often, he

* This and the following Observation make David's indulgence to Nabal's servants appear very meritorious.

† Gen. xiii. 7.

says, seen them make use of such precautions, in divers parts of Asia, on account of the real scarcity of water there.

He applies this account of Jacob's watering Rachel's flock, Gen. xxix: supposing that Rachel had the key; or that they dared not to open it but in her presence. This representation of matters seems much preferable to that of those, who suppose the stone was of such a weight as not to be moved, but by the joint strength of several shepherds, but that Jacob had strength or address sufficient to remove it alone; or supposing that he a stranger ventured to break a standing rule for watering the flocks, which the natives did not dare to do, and this without opposition, or, so far as appears, so much as contradiction: the Eastern people were not wont to be so tame, see Gen. xix. 9.

OBSERVATION XXVII.

STRENGTH OF THE CLANS BELONGING TO THE ARAB EMIRS.

If we should turn our thoughts to the strength of an Arab emir, or the number of men they command, we shall find it is not very great, and that were Abraham now alive, and possessed of the same degree of strength that he had in his time, he would still be considered as a prince among them, and might, perhaps, even be called a mighty prince, he having three hundred and eighteen servants able to bear arms, Gen. xiv. 14, especially in the Eastern complimental style: for this is much like the strength of those Arab emirs of Palestine d'Arvieux visited.

There were according to him eighteen emirs or princes that governed the Arabs of Mount Carmel; the grand emir, or chief of these princes, encamped in the middle, the rest round about him, at one or two leagues distance from him, and from each other; each of these emirs had

a number of Arabs particularly attached to him, who called themselves his servants, and were properly the troops each emir commanded when they fought; and when all these divisions were united, they made up between four and five thousand fighting men.* Had each of these emirs been equal in strength to Abraham, their number of fighting men must have been near six thousand, for three hundred and eighteen, the number of his servants, multiplied by eighteen, the number of those emirs, make five thousand seven hundred and twentyfour; but they were but between four and five thousand, so that they had but about two hundred and fifty each, upon an average. Abraham then was superior in force to one of these emirs.

The Arab clans are not, most certainly, equal in number: Egmont and Heyman expressly observe† that the three clans, defenders of the convent of Mount Sinai, differed from each other in this point, the second being more numerous than the first, and the third than the second; but it seems that they are often not more numerous than Abraham's family was. Several Arabian tribes can bring no more than three or four hundred horses into the field, Dr. Shaw says:‡ so that it is no wonder that Abraham was considered in ancient days as a considerable prince, at the head of a powerful clan; should have his alliance courted; Gen. xx. 22, and make war in his own name. Aner, Eshcol, and Mamre, his confederates, were, I suppose, neighbouring emirs at the head of considerable clans also, with whom Abraham was leagued, and who made up together a formidable power in those times.

Heber the Kenite, in the time of the Judges, appears to have been in like manner a powerful emir, but separated on some account or other from the rest of the emirs of

* Voy. dans la Pal. p. 103—108.

† See the last edition of those Travels.

‡ P 169. And such a clan, according to him there, possesses frequently as large a number of cattle as Job was master of.

his nation, as the Arab princes of these times frequently have great misunderstandings with each other, and are divided by separate interests. And if the Grand Seignior, powerful as he is, courts the modern Arab emirs as we know he does, it can be no wonder that such a prince as Jabin, when he distressed Israel, chose to continue in peace with Heber, who living in tents, was more able to elude the vexations of Jabin on the one hand, and to perplex him on the other; nay, it is not impossible that his detaching himself from the rest of the Kenites might be owing to the intrigues of Jabin, as the present misunderstandings of the Arab clans are frequently caused by the artifices of the Turks.

But though Abraham was a man of power, and did upon occasion make war, yet I hope a remark I before made concerning him will be remembered here, that is, that he was a pacific emir notwithstanding, at least, that he by no means resembled the modern Arabs in their acts of depredation and violence.

OBSERVATION XXVIII.

SEPARATE TENTS FOR DIFFERENT BRANCHES OF THE SAME FAMILY.

In the smallness of their clans, and in their terribleness to those of a more settled kind of life, there is some resemblance between the Arabs and the Indians of North America; shall we, therefore, suppose there is a conformity between the emirs of the one, and the sachems of the other, as to *slovenliness* in the way of living?

The Journal of the Prefetto of the missionaries de propaganda fide, published by the late Bishop of Clogher, seems to suppose this, which has given me, I confess, a good deal of offence: for speaking of the tents of the Arabs, the Journal says,* "They are subdivided into

* P. 8.

three apartments; in the most retired of which, the women have their residence; in the middle, some of the men and women live promiscuously; and in the outermost are kept all the beasts and cattle of the field, the cocks, and hens, and goats: which seemed to me to be a lively representation of the manner of habitation practised by the ancient patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob." Did *they* then and their cattle and their poultry all live together in the same tent? One would imagine the Prefetto meant so, when he said this wretched way of living, of the vulgar Arabs, seemed to him, a lively representation of that of the Patriarchs; but it cannot be just, since we know from their history that Sarah had a tent to herself, which Rebekah afterward had for her separate use, Gen. xxiv. 67

The way of living of the Patriarchs may be much more truly learnt from d'Arvieux's account of the Arabs, who tells us indeed, that among the Arabs the men and cattle lodge together in the winter time, on account of warmth, for which reason they encamp in vallies or on the sea shore, upon the sand, in order to avoid the inconvenience of mire;* but then, though the common Arabs live after this inelegant manner, especially in the winter, he informs us that their emirs or princes live very differently; that they have always two tents, one for themselves, the other for their wives, besides a number of small ones for their domestics, together with a tent of audience. How different a picture of the Arabs does this give us! Is it not much more reasonable to suppose that the accommodations of an emir of these times, such as la Roque gives us account of from d'Arvieux, is a representation of the way of living of the Patriarchs, who were treated as princes by the people of those countries, than the tent of a vulgar Arab?

As to a *separate tent* for their wives, we are sure the mode is the same; and probably the same may be said as

* Voy. dans la Pal. p. 175.

to the other accommodations of the Arab emirs, which are very different, according to d'Arvieux, in Palestine, from those of the ordinary people of that nation, at least if we make some abatement, for the earliness of the time in which the Patriarchs lived. The common Arabs, according to him, have only some mats on which they lie,* and some coverlets; seldom any cushion, a stone serving them for a bolster: but their princes are much better furnished, they have quilts, carpets, coverlets of all sorts, and some very beautiful, stitched with gold and silk, and others woven and embroidered with flowers of gold and silver, like those of the Turks, and extremely handsome; they sew fine white sheets to the coverlets, and have others striped with several colours to put underneath, &c.† Sanctius seems to have thought it incredible that there should be any elegance in Arab tents;‡ but d'Arvieux, an eyewitness, gives a very different account.

After all, I believe this passage of the Prefetto's was merely owing to inattention, and no ways designed to lessen the honor of those progenitors of the Israelitish nation; but, as it is monstrously inaccurate, I cannot pass it by in silence.

OBSERVATION XXIX.

TRADE CARRIED ON BY THE ARABS IN CATTLE, BUTTER, CHEESE, &c.

I HAVE supposed that Abraham lived with all the elegance of a modern Arab emir, or at least with no other

* Sir J. Chardin in his sixth MS. gives a somewhat different account; for having said that their tents are in common, black, made of goats' hair, and pretty high, he adds, that they are adorned below, to the height of four feet, with mats made of reeds. HARMER. Dr. Russell, in his MS. note, confirms Chardin's account. EDIT.

† P 176, 177.

‡ Vide Poli Syn. in Cant. i. 5. Quis credat tabernacula Cedar pulchra fuisse, quæ inhabitabant pastores, genus hominum incultum et agreste?

abatements than what arose from his great antiquity, and I think with reason, since I have shown that he had a distinct tent for Sarah, which is one great reason at present; and I find it expressly said that Abraham was very rich in silver and in gold, as well as in cattle, Gen. xiii. 2; and consequently he was able to procure the ancient elegancies of his way of life, as well as the modern Arab princes are theirs. This, perhaps, we may think strange, and may have imagined, as the Prefetto seems to have done, that Abraham lived in a sordid plenty: abundance of food by means of his flocks and herds, but unattended with silver or gold, and the elegancies that generally go along with them. If we did, it was certainly very erroneously.*

Authors have sufficiently explained how these acquisitions might be made. So Dr. Russell tells us, that the people of Aleppo are supplied with the greater part of their butter, their cheese, and their cattle for slaughter, by the Arabs, Rushwans, or Turcomans, who travel about the country with their flocks and their herds as the Patriarchs did of old.† The Patriarchs doubtless supplied the ancient cities of Canaan, in like manner, with these things. Hamor expressly speaks of their trading with his people, Gen. xxxiv. 21.

At the same time that the Arabs receive money for their commodities, their expenses are very small, so that their princes are rich in silver and gold as well as cattle, and amass large quantities of these precious metals; insomuch that la Roque remarks, that in the time of Pliny, the riches both of the Parthians and Romans were in a manner melted down among the Arabs, to use that expression, they turning every thing into money, without parting with any of it again.‡

* "The Arabs," says Dr. Russell, MS. note, "on the skirts of the Desert, who have communication with the Turkish governors and large cities, adopt some of the Turkish luxuries." EDIT.

† Vol i. p. 165, 388, &c.

‡ Voy. dans la Pal. p. 157. dans la note. "The Arabs at this time," says Dr. Russell, MS. note, "were a commercial people."

Abraham's expenses, like those of the Arabs, by no means equalled his profits, he was therefore continually making acquisitions of money current with the merchant, Gen. xxiii. 16; or of such precious commodities as were easy of carriage, and suited to his way of life. And more especially might he do this in Egypt, where, as being a rich country, his exchanging his cattle might be more advantageous to him than usual. For which reason, perhaps, his being rich in silver and gold is mentioned immediately after his return from thence.

To these accounts may be added, that given us in the sixth volume of the MS. papers of Sir J Chardin, and it is so curious that I cannot but here insert it. After having remarked in general, that they that travel in the East will now often see a picture of Patriarchal history, he goes on to inform us, "that their cattle are all their riches, and engage all their attention, particularly their flocks of sheep and goats, for they are not so much concerned about camels, horses, and asses, though they have them in great numbers, as well as oxen, for the carriage of their portable cities, as they call their tents, which are in common black, and made of goats' hair. As to their manner of living, what is said, Gen. xiii. 2, *Abram was very rich in cattle, in silver, and in gold*, ought not to give us any pain, for these powerful shepherds are able to gather much together by the sale of their cattle, butter, milk, and its dependencies, which their goats produce, for in the East the greatest part of the butter is made of goats' and sheeps' milk; and of the wool of their flocks, and of what they manufacture from it: they sell all these things in the neighbouring towns; and as for themselves they spend very little, their flocks support them, and the land, of which they cultivate as much as they have occasion for.

"I have seen in Persia and in Turkey, where the country is full of these Turcomans, their chiefs going along with a great train, very well clothed, and very well mounted. I saw one between Parthia and Hyrcania, whose

train surprised and alarmed me. He had more than ten led horses, all their harness of solid gold and silver. He was accompanied by many shepherds on horseback, and well armed. Their rustic mien and tanned complexions caused me at first to take them for robbers; but I was soon undeceived. They treated me civilly, and answered all the questions my curiosity prompted me to put to them, upon their manner and way of life. The whole country, for ten leagues, was full of flocks that belonged to them. An hour after I saw his wives, and those of the principal of his attendants, passing along in a row. There were four in cajavehs; these are great square cunes, carried two upon a camel, which were not close covered. The rest were on camels, on asses, and on horseback; most of them with their faces unveiled; I saw some very beautiful women among them."

This account is a valuable addition to this Observation, and gives us some particulars that might be introduced in other places of this book; but my reader will remember them, without citing this account afresh there.

OBSERVATION XXX.

OF THE TURCOMANS, AND THEIR IMMENSE FLOCKS OF CATTLE.

The same MS. gives us an astonishing account of the numerousness of some of these flocks, soon after the preceding citation, as well as mentions the different colours of their sheep.

"It is a wonderful thing to see these Turcomans pass, when they go from one country to another. They are sometimes three or four days in passing. I saw a clan of them pass along two days' distance from Aleppo. The whole country was covered by them. Many of their principal people, whom I spoke to on the road, assured

me that there were four hundred thousand beasts of carriage, camels, horses, asses, oxen, and cows, and three millions of sheep and goats."* The number, if their account was to be depended upon, is truly amazing to us Europeans; but upon comparing these numbers with Dr. Shaw's account† of the Barbary flocks and herds, they will not appear at all incredible.

Their sheep are not all of one colour, it seems, for speaking in the same page, of the two famous princely races, distinguished from each other by the appellations of the black sheep and the white sheep, he tells us, they were originally shepherds, though afterward possessed of considerable territories, and that they distinguished these two families by these appellations, because all the cattle with white wool were taken by one family, and the other had the rest, by an agreement very like that made between Jacob and Laban, mentioned in the 30th of Genesis. I do not remember that d'Herbelot, who mentions these two houses frequently, has any where given us so clear an account of the reason of these names of distinction; which is a circumstance, however, that deserves to be taken notice of, as it shows a very considerable number

* In the original it is three millions, *des bestes à corne*, horned cattle. By that term we indeed commonly mean neat beasts, but as he had mentioned before oxen and cows, and elsewhere tells us, they have most sheep and goats, he evidently means them.

† Dr. Shaw's account is as follows: "Besides this great variety of cattle, we may observe further, that each kind is very numerous and prolific. Several Arabian tribes, who can bring no more than three or four hundred *horses* into the field, are possessed of more than so many thousand *camels*, and triple the number of *sheep* and *black cattle*. The Arabs rarely diminish their flocks by using them for food, but live chiefly upon bread, dates, milk, butter, or what they receive in exchange for their wool. Such cattle as are brought to their fairs, or to the neighbouring towns and villages, are very inconsiderable, when compared with the yearly increase. By proper care therefore, and attendance, nay, if these numerous flocks and herds had shelter from the inclemency of the weather during a small part only of the winter season, this whole country, in a few years, would be overrun with cattle."

Dr. Russell, MS. note, says, "Vast flocks pass Aleppo every year, and the proprietors sell their sheep for the supply of the city." EDIT.

of modern Eastern sheep are not white, since the family of the black sheep were willing to accept them, as, along with other cattle, not an improper portion for them in dividing their substance.

OBSERVATION XXXI.

THEIR MANNER OF PILLAGING THE CARAVANS.

THE manner in which the Arabs harrass the caravans of the East, is described in the same page. He tells us there, "that the manner of their making war, and pillaging the caravans is, to keep by the side of them, or to follow them in the rear, nearer or further off, according to their forces, which it is very easy to do in Arabia, which is one great plain, and in the night they silently fall upon the camp, and carry off one part of it before the rest are got under arms."

He supposes that Abraham fell upon the camp of the four kings, that had carried away Lot, precisely in the same Arab manner, and by that means, with unequal forces, accomplished his design, and rescued Lot. Gen. xiv. 15, he thinks, shows this; and he adds, that it is to be remembered, that the combats of the age of Abraham more resembled a fight among the mob, than the bloody and destructive wars of Europe.

OBSERVATION XXXII.

SUDDEN REMOVES OF THE ARABS INJURIOUS TO THE YOUNG OF THEIR FLOCKS.

PREPARED as the Arabs are for speedy flight, a quick motion is very destructive to the young of their flocks.

A passage of the same part of that MS. proves this, and at the same time shows the energy of those words of

Jacob's apology to his brother Esau, for not attending him. *The flocks and herds with young are with me, and if men should overdrive them one day, all the flock will die.* Gen. xxxiii. 13. "Their flocks," says Sir John, speaking of those who now live in the East after the Patriarchal manner, "feed down the places of their encampments so quick, by the great numbers which they have, that they are obliged to remove them too often, which is very destructive to their flocks, on account of the young ones, which have not strength enough to follow."

OBSERVATION XXXIII.

OF THE DIFFERENT DOMESTIC UTENSILS OF THE ARABS.

Besides the mats and the coverlets of the common Arab tents, which I took notice of under a preceding Observation, la Roque mentions* hair sacks, and trunks and baskets covered with skin, to put up and carry their things in; which are kettles or pots, great wooden† bowls, handmills, and pitchers. With these they content themselves, and they are all their furniture in common, or nearly so.

I mention them distinctly, because this account seems to explain, in a clearer manner than commentators have

* Voy. dans la Pal. p. 176, and p. 178.

† The French word is *gamelles*, which the English translator supposes signified close wicker baskets, but as this word is used by the same author for the vessel into which they pour their soup, p. 199, something of a very different nature must be intended by it; and as wooden bowls are particularly mentioned with their pot and kettle by other travellers, see Shaw, p. 231, and are, indeed, quite necessary to them, one would have been induced to believe that la Roque meant them, had he not so explained himself, in p. 204, as that this translator there renders the passage, "Three or four piggins, or great wooden bowls."

Gamelle signifies a sort of wooden platter used aboard vessels and in camps, for serving up victuals in. Hence *manger á la gamelle*, signifies to *eat at the soldiers' or sailors' mess.* Edit.

done, who are, indeed, in a manner silent upon those texts, the passages which describe the furniture of the habitations of Israel in the Wilderness. *Upon whatsoever any of them, when they are dead, doth fall, it shall be unclean,* Lev. xi. 32, 33, *whether it be any vessel of wood,* their wooden bowls, that is, according to this representation of the utensils of those that live in tents, to which there is reason to believe those of the Israelites were like, who lived so many years like Arabs in the wilderness; *or raiment, or skin,** any trunks or baskets covered with skins, that is; *or sack,* any hair cloth sack used for the better carrying goods from place to place; *whatsoever vessel it be, wherein any work is done,*† *it must be put into water, and it shall be unclean until the evening; so it shall be cleansed. And every earthen vessel,* the pitchers used for holding liquids, and drinking out of, *whereinto any of them falleth, whatsoever is in it shall be unclean, and ye shall break it.*‡

The account of la Roque may then serve for an amusing explanation of these passages; and I believe will be allowed to be a more natural illustration of them than that of the Rabbins,§ who suppose that the work of goats, which our translators determine to mean goats' hair, implies instruments made of the horns, and hoofs, and bones of goats, few or no such instruments being to be found among those that now dwell in tents. There is the like pleasing simplicity in explaining the vessels of wood of their *wooden bowls,* instead of reckoning up all the particular things that were afterward made of wood in the most remote sense of the word, as Maimonides has done, who intro-

* "Goat skins," says Dr. Russell, "in which they churn their butter, transport water, milk," &c. MS. note. EDIT.

† "The trunks covered with skins are called *sapets;* as these could not well be put into water, the others probably were meant." Ibid.

‡ Might not their vessels made of dried cow's dung, be included here? Russell, ibid.

§ See Ainsworth upon these passages.

duces the mention of vessels of bulrushes, of reeds, of the shells of nuts, and the bark of trees. Things that were not in use, we have reason to think, in these migratory families, and consequently not immediately referred to by Moses; and if so, not coming under the observation of a commentator, however they may with propriety enough engage the attention of a Jewish casuist.

But though the bowls and dishes of the vulgar Arabs are of wood, those of their emirs are, not unfrequently, of copper, tinned very neatly: la Roque takes notice of this circumstance in more places than one.* I have met with a like account, I think, in other travellers. May we not believe that the vessel which Jael made use of, to present buttermilk to Sisera, and which Deborah in her hymn calls a *lordly* dish,† or a dish of *nobles*, was of this sort? Her husband certainly was an Arab emir; the working of metals much more ancient than her time, Gen. iv. 22; and the mere size of the vessel hardly could be the thing intended. La Roque, indeed, tells us,‡ that the fruits that were brought in at the collation, that the grand emir of the Arabs, whom he visited, treated him with, were placed in a large painted basin of wood; its being painted was, without doubt, a mark of honor set on this vessel of the grand emir, which distinguished it from the wooden bowls of the commonality; but a painted wooden vessel would have been not so proper for buttermilk, as one of copper tinned, which therefore most probably was the sort Jael used.

OBSERVATION XXXIV

BOTTLES MADE OF SKINS, USED IN THE EAST.

THE preceding list of Arab utensils is not complete; however, as I insinuated under the last Observation,

* Voy. dans la Pal. p. 178, and p. 24.

† Judges v. 25.

‡ Page 11, 12.

leather bottles not being mentioned by la Roque, in those places where he professes to give us an account of the furniture of an Arab tent, which yet they certainly have, and out of which he himself elsewhere* tells us they drink, when a pitcher is not at hand.

These are very uncouth drinking vessels, in comparison of cups of silver or gold, such as were anciently used in the courts of princes, agreeably to what we learn from 1 Kings x. 21, where we are told the magnificence of Solomon suffered no drinking vessels, in his palace, that were not of gold, none of silver, it being nothing accounted of in his days; whereas, it should seem, in the preceding reigns, cups of silver, as well as gold, were used in the royal houses. And to the difference betwixt these vessels of silver or of gold, and these goat skin bottles, the Psalmist seems to refer when he says, *I am become as a bottle in the smoke*, Ps. cxix. 83. "My appearance in my present state is as different to what it was when I dwelt at court, as the furniture of a palace differs from that of a poor Arab's tent, among whom I now dwell. Just thus the Prophet laments, that *the precious sons of Zion, comparible to fine gold*, or vessels of fine gold, sunk in their estimation, and were considered as no *better than earthen pitchers, the work of the hands of the potier*, Lam. iv. 2."

Our translators, by the place† they have marked in the margin of some of our Bibles, as parallel to this, seem to have supposed that the Psalmist refers to the *blackness* his face contracted by sorrow; but this can hardly be supposed to be the whole of his thought: in such a case, would he not rather have spoken of the *blackness of a pot*, as it is supposed the Prophet Joel does, ch. ii. 6, rather than that of a *leather bottle*?

These bottles are supposed by a sacred historian, not only to be frequently *rent*, when grown old and much

* Page 205. † Job xxx. 30.

used, but also to be capable of being *repaired*, Josh. ix. 4, wine bottles old, and *rent*, and *bound up*.

Sir J. Chardin in a note informs us, this is perfectly according to the custom of the East; and he describes the manner in which they are mended. "They do it," he says, "sometimes by setting in a piece; sometimes by gathering up the wounded place, in manner of a purse; sometimes they put in a round flat piece of wood, and by that means stop the hole."

In the sixth volume of his MS. he has given us, at large, an amusing account of these bottles, which therefore I would here set down. After observing, that the bottle given to Hagar was a leather one, he goes on thus: "The Arabs, and all those that lead a wandering kind of life, keep their water, milk, and other kind of liquors in these bottles. They keep in them more fresh than otherwise they would do. These leather bottles are made of goat skins. When the animal is killed, they cut off its feet and its head, and they draw it in this manner out of the skin, without opening its belly They afterwards sew up the places where the legs were cut off, and the tail, and when it is filled, they tie it about the neck. These nations, and the country people of Persia, never go a journey without a small leather bottle of water hanging by their side like a scrip. The great leather bottles are made of the skin of an hegoat, and the small ones, that serve instead of a bottle of water on the road, are made of a kid's skin. Mons. Dandilly, for want of observing this, in his beautiful translation of Josephus, has put goat skin in the chapter of Hagar and Ishmael, instead of a kid's skin bottle, which, for the reasons assigned above, must have been meant."

He reassumes the subject in another part of the same volume,* in which he tells us, "that they put into these goat skin and kid skin vessels every thing which they want to carry to a distance in the East, whether dry or

* On Gen. xliii. 11.

liquid, and very rarely make use of boxes and pots, unless it be to preserve such things as are liable to be broken. The reason is, their making use of beasts of carriage for conveying these things who often fall down under their loading, or throw it down, and also because it is in pretty thin woollen sacks, that they enclose what they carry. There is another advantage, too, in putting the necessaries of life in these skin vessels, they are preserved fresher; the ants and other insects cannot make their way to them; nor the dust they get in, of which there are such quantities in the hot countries of Asia, and so fine, that there is no such thing as a coffer impenetrable to it; therefore it is that butter, honey, cheese, and other like aliments are enclosed in vessels made of the skins of this species of animals."

According to this, the things that were carried to Joseph for a present, were probably enclosed in little vessels made of kid skins, not only the balm and the honey, which were somewhat liquid; but the nuts and the almonds too, that they might be preserved fresh, and the whole put into slight woollen sacks.*

OBSERVATION XXXV

SMOKINESS OF THEIR TENTS.

I HAVE been supposing that the tent of a common Arab is a very smoky habitation, when I have considered the expression of a *bottle in the smoke*, as equivalent to that of a bottle in the tent of an Arab; but in truth their dwellings must be very much incommoded with smoke, since they make fires in them.

So there was a fire, we find, in that Arab tent to which Bishop Pococke was conducted, when he was going to Jerusalem.† How smoky must such an habitation be,

* In a MS. Note on this place Dr. Russell observes, "Almonds, walnuts, dates, figs, &c. are still commonly packed up in skins." EDIT.

† Vol. ii. p. 5.

and how black all its utensils! Le Bruyn in going from Aleppo to Scanderoon, was made sufficiently sensible of this: for being obliged to pass a whole night in an hut of reeds, in the middle of which there was a fire, to boil a kettle of meat that hung over it, and to bake some bread among the ashes, he found the smoke intolerable, the door being the only place by which it could get out of the hut.

To the blackness of a goat skin bottle in a tent, but to the meanness also of such a drinking vessel, the Psalmist seems to refer, and it was a most natural image for him to make use of, driven from among the vessels of silver and gold in the palace of Saul, to live as the Arabs do and did, and consequently being obliged to drink out of a smoked leather bottle.

If this be a just representation of the tents of the Arabs, I doubt our translators will be thought not to have been very happy in their version, when they call the tents of the Arabs their *palaces*, Ezek. xxv. 4, whatever the true sense of the original may be.*

OBSERVATION XXXVI.

OF THE BLACK COLOUR OF THEIR TENTS.

* If a survey of them as to their insides will not presently induce us to call them palaces, so neither will their outsides, I imagine, produce that effect, being such hair cloth as our coal sacks are made of.†

* טירותיהם *teeroteehem* and the singular טירה *teerah*, probably from טר *tar*, signifying *regularity* and *order*: see Parkhurst. From the context it appears to me, that the word means *cotes*, *pens*, or *enclosures* for cattle, which may be thus denominated from the *regular* manner of their construction, and the *order* in which they are arranged. I am the more inclined to this interpretation, which, however, I submit with perfect deference to the judgment of the reader, because the Arabic طر *tarra* signifies *to drive together*, as cattle, *from different quarters*, and *ranging them up to the right and left*. See Golius Meninski, and Richardson. I need not inform the learned reader, that many deficient roots in Hebrew are preserved in Arabic. EDIT.

† Shaw, p. 220.

I have therefore often wondered that Dr. Shaw should consider them as affording a delightful prospect, and more, that he should suppose Solomon considered them as comely, as well as black, in Cant. i. 5, when the turn of the words leads us rather to suppose, that he meant to make the bride say, she was black as the tents of Kedar, or of the Arabs; but comely however as those of Solomon.

I shall have occasion hereafter to speak of the tents of Solomon; at present I would observe the force of the comparison when he likens her, on the account of her blackness, to the tents of the Arabs.

And as I have observed several faults here, besides omissions, this article must consist of several particulars. It has been said their tents are made of skins instead of hair; it has been supposed that their blackness is adventitious, and owing to the sun and rain; as well as that they have a beautiful appearance; on the other hand, it has not been observed, I think, as it ought, that the tents of the Arabs are commonly of another colour; particulars that are requisite to be remarked, in order to enter into the full force of the comparison.

Some Jewish writers referred to by Mercer,* Bishop Patrick, in his Commentary, &c. suppose their tents are composed of skins; nor does it do any honour to the accuracy of Egmont and Heyman's book of Travels, that it affirms also, that Arab tents are made of goat skins, as it does in two places;† whereas d'Arvieux tells us, they are made of hair cloth, which the women weave;‡ and Dr. Shaw affirms, they are of the same sort of hair cloth of which our coal sacks are made; and so many other authors have confirmed their account, that no doubt can be made of it.§

* Vide Poli Syn. in loc. † Vol. i. p. 302, and p. 373.

‡ Voy. dans la Pal. p. 173.

§ It is allowed elsewhere by Bishop Patrick himself. "They are of hair cloth generally in Syria." Dr. Russell in a MS. note. EDIT.

Mercer, and others,* have supposed their blackness is adventitious, and occasioned by the sun and the rain, upon what grounds I do not know, for their goats are in common naturally black: and therefore as the brown among Laban's sheep were appointed to be Jacob's hire, because they were much less common; so, for the same reason, were they spotted and speckled among the goats, they being in common black. The Spouse compares herself to one of the Arab tents, on account of the taint of her skin; but it is introducing a thought she never designed, when it is supposed they both arose from the *same cause*, the scorching of the sun.

Not only have authors that never saw an Arab tent supposed they were the reverse of beautiful, but Thevenot,† who saw many of them, gives us to understand he thought them ugly; and they that attend to that circumstance of their being made of the same materials as our coal sacks, will wonder at Dr. Shaw's taste,‡ who seems to have thought them very pleasing to the eye.§

The Arabs make use of black tents with great universality. D'Arvieux, describing their tents, expressly says, they are all black.¶ All other authors, I think, suppose this, that speak of the colour of their tents at all.

* Vide Poli Syn. in loc.

† See Thevenot, part 1. p. 173. Egmont and Heyman, vol. ii. p. 155.

‡ P. 220.

§ On this observation Dr. Russell, in a MS note, makes the following remark: "There is no inconsistence here: in traversing neglected plains, or looking from the declivity of a neighbouring hill, an Arab encampment, notwithstanding the colour of the tents, diversifies the prospect, and is far from being an unpleasing object. *Black*, indeed, affords a kind of relief to the eye fatigued with the blaze of day, and the hot reflection from the ground." EDIT.

¶ Voy. dans la Pal. p. 173. Fulcherius Carnotensis describes the tents of the enemies of King Baldwin as white, and calls these enemies, Arabs and Saracens; but it appears evidently, that he does not design by those terms, Arabs in the sense in which we have used the term in this article, viz. Bedouin Arabs, but he means Egyptians and the Mourish inhabitants of Ascalon. Vide Gesta Dei per Francos, p. 411, &c.

Some other nations live in tents of black goats' hair, in other countries, as well as the Arabs: so Thevenot says, the Curds of Mesopotamia do, but it is not common. Other nations generally live in booths, or huts of reeds or boughs, or other materials, for there is a great variety in the descriptions that travellers have given us of these habitations. Or, if in tents, they make use of other colours in general: so d'Arvieux gives us an account of another nation that lives in the Holy Land, in tents as the Arabs do, but their tents are of *white linen cloth;* they are called Turcomans, obey the Grand Seignior, are neat in their camp, and lie in good beds; they are more parsimonious than the Arabs as to their eating, but are better clothed than they; they do not spoil passengers as the Arabs do, but are very hospitable, and give meat and lodging to all travellers that apply to them, without charging them any thing.* As for the Turks, when they encamp, as they sometimes do, the tents they make use of are *green.*† So then the tents of the Arabs are universally *black*, and scarcely any make use of them but they; the other nations, in particular, that live in tents in the Holy Land, as they do, dwell in tents of *white linen.* I am black, not as a tent, for they were often of other colours, but as the tents of Kedar, which were universally of this hue.‡

* Voy. dans la Pal. p. 99, 100.

† Pococke's Travels into the East, vol. ii. p. 115.

‡ It appears, therefore, that all the tents of the Eastern nations are not *black*, nor are they all made of *black goats' skin:* among the Mamelukes they are of *cloth* often, and highly ornamented. A particular friend of mine, Lieut. Browne, of the Royal Navy, brought a whole Mameluke tent, poles, cords and all, home with him from the late Egyptian expedition. It is of strong *sail cloth*, of a *leaden hue*, but *ornamented with painting.* Mr. Jackson, in his overland journey from India, on his entering the Tigris, in the place where the river Hie joins with it, near a small town called Coote, fell in with a Turkish encampment, pitched on the western bank of the river, which appeared to him beautiful, some of the tents being *red*, others *green*, and some *white.* P. 75. See a confirmation of this under Obs. xl. p. 270. EDIT.

Black goats' hair tents may very probably have been generally used in the most ancient times, since the Arabs retain the most ancient customs;* the present distinction however appears by this passage to have been as ancient as the days of Solomon. So curtains of goats' hair were directed for the Tabernacle, and the Israelitish women appear to have been very well acquainted with the manner of spinning it; from whence we may naturally conjecture, that the tents of the Patriarchs, and those Israel might use in Egypt, as well as in the Wilderness, were of the same fabric.

Moral interpreters have supposed, that the Spouse represents herself as black, and disagreeable, as to her outward aspect, but possessed of internal qualifications lovely as the tents of Solomon. What the precise intention of the sacred writer might be, I will not take upon me to say; but it is certain, that the face may be discoloured by the sun, and yet possess an exquisite gracefulness: so Mr. Wood, the elegant editor of the Ruins of Palmyra, observes, that the Arab women, whom he saw at that place, were well shaped, and though very swarthy, yet had good features;† and of Zenobia, the celebrated queen of that city in the days of antiquity, he says, she was reckoned an extraordinary beauty, and that the description we have of her person answers that character: her complexion of a dark brown, a necessary consequence of her way of life in that climate; her eyes black and sparkling, and of an uncommon fire; her countenance divinely sprightly; her person graceful and genteel beyond imag-

* We are not, however, to suppose the living in tents was prior to the dwelling in houses; the comparing Gen. iv. 20, with the 17th verse of that chapter, would lead us into a contrary opinion. Cain, one of the immediate descendants of Adam, built a city; but it was not until the days of Jabal, who was of the seventh generation from Adam, that dwelling in tents and removing from place to place with cattle, came into use; *he was the father of such*, the *first* that practised this flitting way of living, which others have since followed, particularly the Bedouin Arabs. This is a remark of Sir J. Chardin's, in his Manuscript.

† Ruins of Palmyra, p. 37.

ination; her teeth white as pearl, and her voice clear and strong.* It is very possible then to be *black* and at the same time *comely*, as to what is visible, without having recourse to moral qualities; and I confess I could not forbear thinking of this passage of the Canticles, the moment I read this description of Zenobia.

A passage of d'Arvieux† will account for that surprise, which he supposes the daughters of Jerusalem would notwithstanding feel, upon seeing the swarthiness of the person which Solomon had chosen for his spouse, as it shows the attention usually paid by the great men of the East to the complexion of their wives, as well as the great tanning power of the sun in Palestine. "The princesses, and the other Arab ladies, whom they showed me from a private place of the tent, appeared to me beautiful and well shaped; one may judge by these, and by what they told me of them, that the rest are no less so; they are very fair, because they are always kept from the sun. The women in common are extremely sun burnt, besides the brown and swarthy colour which they naturally have,"‡ &c. Naturally, he says, though this most permanent swarthiness must arise from the same cause with that temporary tanning he speaks of, or otherwise the Arab princesses would have been swarthy, though not sun burnt, being natives of the country, which yet, he affirms, they were not.

It is on this account, without doubt, that the Prophet Jeremiah, when he would describe a comely woman, describes her by the character of one that dwelleth at home.§ The delicate, and those that are solicitous to preserve their beauty, go very little abroad: it seems it was so anciently, and therefore the Prophet uses a term to express a woman of beauty, which would not be very applicable to many British fine ladies.

* P. 8. † Voy. dans la Pal. p. 214.

‡ Dr. Russell has made the like remark, vol. i. p. 99.

§ Jer. vi. 2, according to the margin.

OBSERVATION XXXVII.

OF THE WOMEN'S DIVISION OF THE TENT.

But ordinary as these dwellings are, the common Arabs so far observe the modes of the East, as to have a separate apartment in them for their wives, made by letting down a curtain or a carpet, upon occasion, from one of the pillars of their tents;* though they are not so rigid as some other of the Eastern people are in these matters, as appears by Dr. Pococke's account of the manner in which he was treated, in an Arab tent, in his journey to Jerusalem. His conductor, who was an Arab, led him, he tells us, two or three miles to his tent, which was not much out of the road, and where there was an encampment of Arabs; and that there he sat with his wife, and others, round a fire; "For, says he, the Arabs are not so scrupulous as the Turks about their women; and though they have their harem, or women's part of the tent, yet such as they are acquainted with come into them: I was kept in the harem for greater security, the wife being always with me, no stranger ever daring to come into the woman's apartment, unless they are introduced. Several women came to look at me, and some men."†

It was not absurd then in Sisera, according to the custom of the present Arabs, to hope he might be received into Jael's tent, the harem of Heber; it appears too that her tent was a much safer place than any other, in that encampment, as the violating it would be the greater insult to this Kenite Emir. Nothing can be a better comment on Judges iv. 17, 18, 20, than this story.

* Shaw, p. 221.

† Vol. ii. p. 5. Dr. Russell remarks, "that this must have been an Arab of *ordinary rank*," MS. note. And Mr. Jackson says, "Women of the highest class, at Bussora, are seldom seen out of doors; but when they do go out, they are always veiled. Many of the Arab women, particularly of the *lower class*, expose their faces." Journey from India, p. 32. EDIT.

OBSERVATION XXXVIII.

ARAB WOMEN TAKE CARE OF THE FLOCKS.

Shut up as many of the Eastern women are, those of some other tribes of them still continue to feed sheep and other cattle.

The daughters of the Turcomans of Syria do this, according to d'Arvieux,* in which point he supposes they differ from the Arabs; this is confirmed by Consul Drummond, in general, only calling all, that live in that country a wandering life under tents, Arabs, he speaks of Arab women as tending cattle.† "Being very thirsty," says this writer, speaking of a journey from Scanderoon to Aleppo, "I halted at a well, where I saw a great number of cattle attended by some well shaped, though ugly, Arabian girls, whose nostrils were adorned with rings; they were good natured enough to water me along with their beasts."

OBSERVATION XXXIX.

REGULAR INHABITANTS OF TOWNS AND VILLAGES IN THE EAST SPEND PART OF THEIR SUMMERS ABROAD UNDER TENTS.

Besides those that live wholly in tents, numbers of the Eastern people spend part of the year in them.

I have observed it particularly in the accounts of Mesopotamia. In that country Bishop Pococke tells us, he fell in with a summer village of country people, whose huts were made of loose stones covered with reeds and boughs; their winter village being on the side of an hill

* Voy. dans la Pal. p. 230.

† P 183. Dr. Russell asserts, that the Arab women tend cattle as well as the Turcoman women. MS. note. Edit.

at some distance, consisting of very low houses; and tha they choose this place for the convenience of being with their cattle, and out of the high road.* Five pages after, he observes, that many of the Curdeens live honestly in Mesopotamia as well as Syria, removing in summer to some places at a distance from their village, where they live under tents, generally in places retired from the road, to avoid the injuries of the soldiery, and of the people of the pasha.

May not this circumstance serve to explain a passage of the Old Testament, relating to this country? In Gen. xxxi, it is said, that Jacob sent and called Rachel and Leah to his flock, that he there told them of his design of returning from Mesopotamia to his native country, and that; upon their consenting to go with him, he set out upon this journey so silently, that Laban had no notice of it, until the third day after; yet it appears, that he had all his effects with him, and tents for the accommodation of his family; and that Laban, who pursued him, had tents also for his company.

Here one is surprised to find both parties so suddenly equipped with tents for their accommodation in travelling, and is naturally led to enquire, why Jacob sent for his wives to his flock? Bishop Patrick's account of the last circumstance, that it was for greater secresy, and perhaps to avoid the danger of being seized upon by Laban and his sons, will hardly be thought satisfactory. Could not a husband speak to his wives with sufficient privacy in Laban's house? Were matters come to such an extremity, that Jacob durst not venture himself within the doors of his uncle's house, for fear of being seized upon, and made a prisoner? And in fact Jacob seems actually to have communicated his intention to Rachel in her father's house: for when he sent for his wives, she brought her father's teraphim with her, which she would by no means have done, had she been unapprized of the design.

* V. ii. p. 168.

The case seems to have been thus. While Laban and his daughters dwelt in a house, they that tended the flocks had *tents* for their accommodation. Laban's flocks were in two parcels, one under the care of Jacob, the other committed to the care of Laban's sons, three days' journey off; Jacob's own afterward were also, for the same reason, probably at an equal distance. At the time of shearing sheep, it is reasonable to suppose, that more and better tents were erected for the reception and entertainment of their friends, it being a time of great feasting, 1 Sam. xxv. 4, 8, 36; to which they were wont to invite their friends, 2 Sam. xiii. 25; and the feasts being held at a distance from their own houses, in the places where the sheep were fed, as appears from the passage last cited, and also from Gen. xxxviii. 12. Laban went then with his relations at the time of sheep shearing to his flocks; Jacob at the same time shore his own sheep, and sent to his wives to come to the entertainment, with all those utensils that they had with them of his, which would be wanted having before communicated his intention to Rachel his beloved wife. This was a fair pretence for the having all his household stuff brought to him, which, according to the present Eastern mode, we may believe was very portable, beds not excepted; and having told Leah then his views, in the company of Rachel, and both consenting to go with him, he had every thing ready for his journey, and could decamp immediately, taking his flocks and herds along with him. Somebody, upon this, went to inform Laban of Jacob's departure, who being at a considerable distance, did not receive the news till the third day.

This accounts at once, in the most simple and natural way, for Jacob's sending for his wives to his flock; for his being able to get his goods together without jealousy; and for his and his father in law's being furnished with tents for the journey.

OBSERVATION XL.

THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED.

Nor do the country people only occasionally make use of tents, persons of distinction use them also for pleasure.

I have had occasion, in making remarks on the weather, to take notice that the English merchants at Aleppo do, and it seems to be no more than a conformity to the customs of the Eastern people. For Dr. Pococke speaks* of a pleasant place, not far from Aleppo, where he met an Aga who had a great entertainment there, accompanied with music, under tents. Maillet in like manner mentions tents as things of course, in an account he gives of an Egyptian officer's taking the air with his lady, in the neighbourhood of Cairo.† What is more, the modern Eastern princes have frequently made use of them in the same way. So Chardin tells us,‡ that Tahmasp, the Persian monarch, used to spend the winter at Casbin, and to retire in the summer three or four leagues into the country, where he lived in tents at the foot of Mount Alouvent, in a place abounding with cool springs and pleasant shades; and that his successors lived after the same manner until the time of Abas the Great, who removed his court to Ispahan.§ To which I would add, that Olea-

* Vol. ii. p. 146.

† Lett. 11. p. 120.

‡ Travels, p. 382.

§ This gentleman in his MS. supposes that we are to consider Deborah's dwelling under a palm tree, mentioned Judges iv. 5, in the same light. If this is just, the swelling of the river Kishon, in such a manner as to destroy multitudes of the enemies of Israel, Judges v. 20, 21, must be considered as a very extraordinary imposition of God: for this violence of that river must have been occasioned, we have reason to think, by very heavy rains, and rain is not wont to fall in that country after May; though sometimes very copious showers have descended much later: la Roque mentions such an event, which, I have had occasion to cite in the preceding Chapter.

rius, attending the ambassador of Holstein-Gottorp, who were invited by a later Persian monarch to accompany him on a party of pleasure, for hunting, hawking, &c. found in an Armenian village many tents prepared for the reception of the company; which, by the *variety of their colours*, and the peculiar manner in which they were pitched, made a most pleasing appearance.*

I should not have made this one of my Observations, had I not found that the learned made a difficulty of admitting that the *curtains* of Solomon, Cant. i. 5, signified the *tents* of Solomon; "for though," says Ainsworth,† "curtains in other places signify tents, here they seem rather to mean the goodly hangings that were in his house, and about his bed. For Solomon *dwelt not in tents, but builded him houses*, Eccles. ii. 4; *and one which was thirteen years in building*, 1 Kings vii. 1. But though he built palaces, and as a most peaceful prince,‡ seldom wanted tents for his accommodation in war, he that left no pleasure untried, may be allowed to have resided sometimes in them, pitched in summer heats in some cool and delightful spot, like the first princes of the late royal race of Persia, or erected in other places for his accommodation in hunting, like that more modern prince Olearius mentions.

On the other hand, though the doors of the East have *veils* hanging before them, and probably had anciently,

The more unusual the events, the greater was the mercy. I leave it with my reader to determine how far what is said concerning the dwelling under a palm tree, is a proof that this event happened out of the usual rainy season. It will be proper not to omit what Sir John observes further concerning this living under palm trees, in his note here; he tells us, people retire under these trees, because they live on their fruit; but he adds, that the air there is bad. I will only take the liberty to observe, that unless there is a very great alteration in Palestine with respect to the palm tree, it could not be from any regard to the fruit, that Deborah dwelt under one; for Dr. Shaw assures us, the palm trees of the Holy Land, very rarely, if ever, bring their fruit to maturity, p. 843.

*See note on Obs. xxxvi. p. 263. † Upon Cant. i. 5.

‡ 1 Chron. xxii. 9.

since a veil was used in the Temple as well as Tabernacle; yet the Hebrew word *there* יריעות *yirioth*, is not the same with that which in Cant. i. 5, is rendered curtains. And as to the goodly *hangings about his bed*, there is no reason in the world to imagine they *were* in use in Solomon's country, it is certain they *are* not now: "their beds consist of a mattress laid on the floor, and over this a sheet, in winter a carpet, or some such woollen covering, the other sheet being sewed to the quilt. A divan cushion often serves for a bolster and pillow, though some have a bolster and pillow as we have." Such is Russell's account of the beds of Aleppo.* Hanway's account of those of Persia is just the same. Ainsworth then appears to have been much more versed in the Eastern languages than in their customs, and is a striking proof, how much observations of the kind I am making are necessary to be accurate, though they relate to things in themselves of no great moment.† Agreeably to all this, the word translated *curtains* is no where used in the Old Testament but where a tent is expressly spoken of, excepting in Psalm civ. 2, and there Isai. xl. 22, shows it is alluded to.‡

* Vol. i. p. 144. To which he adds, in a MS. note here, Mosquetto curtains are sometimes suspended over the beds. EDIT.

† It ought, however, to be acknowledged here, that, if Maillet may be depended upon *curtains* are sometimes suspended over the beds, in times at least of great solemnity; for so he describes the bed in which Ibrahim Bey, the son of the Bashaw of Egypt, was to lodge after his circumcision. "An angel bed," he tells us, by which term the French mean a bed without posts, and whose curtains are suspended in the air, "of crimson velvet, was in the middle of one of the apartments. This bed was covered on the outside with Indian embroidery, lined with green satin, equally richly wrought. A fringe of gold, four fingers broad, ran round the *curtains*, which were tucked up with rubies and emeralds," &c. Lett. x p. 75. But this was extraordinary; air, in common, is more desirable than such magnificence in these hot countries.

‡ יריעות *yirioth* is the Hebrew word both in Cant. i. 5, and in 1 Chron. xvii. 1; where it is said, the ark of the LORD dwelt under *curtains*. In Isaiah xl. 22, the word דק *dok*, is translated *curtain*, which is elsewhere

I will only add, that if Solomon used tents at all, we may be sure they were extremely magnificent, and might with great propriety be alluded to on account of their beauty.

OBSERVATION XLI.

TENTS USED FOR RELIGIOUS SOLEMNITIES.

TENTS also appear to have been used on occasion of religious solemnities.

When Dr. Perry arrived at Siut, a large town near the Nile, about seventy leagues above Cairo, it was "the first day of Biram; and, going to the town, we found a great many tents pitched, and an innumerable concourse of people without the town, to the South west of it. These people were partly of Siut, and partly from the circumjacent villages, who came thither to celebrate the happy day."*

The moment I read this account, I recollected that passage of the book of Judges, *They said, behold! there is a feast of the* LORD *in Shiloh yearly, in a place which is on the North side of Bethel, on the East side of the highway that goeth up from Bethel to Shechem, and on the South of Lebonah: Go, and lie in wait in the vineyards: and see, and behold, if the daughters of Shiloh come out to dance in dances*, &c. Chap. xxi. 19—21.

It was usual we see anciently for people to celebrate their festivals out of their cities: most probably then tents

rendered *dwarf*, Lev. xxi. 20. The word סכה *succah*, and מסך *masac*, from the same root, כסך *sacac*, are rendered *curtain, tabernacle, covert, pavilion, college, booth, tent*, a *hanging*, a *covering*, by our translators, in a great variety of places. Is it possible, that one simple term should have all these meanings? EDIT.

* Page 333.

also were pitched for their conveniences; and virgins attended from other towns, though those of Shiloh might be most numerous.*

OBSERVATION XLII.

STRUCTURE OF THE ARAB TENTS.

If the black hair cloth used by the Arabs for their tents, has a mean and a coarse look, it however very effectually guards against rain; the other coverings, therefore, of the sacred tent of Moses, we have reason to believe, were appointed only for ornament.

Abundance of questions may be asked, relating to the structure of the Tabernacle, which it would be extremely difficult fully to answer. The delineations the learned have sometimes given us in their books differ oftentimes, I am afraid, from the pattern showed to Moses in the Mount: this model Moses saw in a divine vision; their draughts, I doubt, are visionary, in many respects, in a very opposite sense.

What I have met with in travellers into the East may, perhaps, throw a little light on some things relating to the Tabernacle; I will therefore set them down here.

The common Arab tents have only a pole or two to support them in the middle, the eves being stretched out by cords, fastened to the ground by hooked wooden pins: this is Dr. Shaw's account.† They have then, it seems, only one covering. But the tents of other Eastern people have sometimes a magnificent lining under the outside covering. So Egmont and Heyman tell us, in describing the tents of the Grand Seignior, pitched on a sol-

* See more of dwelling in tents, in the time of religious solemnities, under an Observation belonging to the next Chapter.

† P. 221.

emn occasion, that they were exceedingly splendid, and one of them lined with a rich silk stuff. This was exceeded by another, which, they were informed, cost twenty five thousand piastres,* which was made in Persia, and not finished in less than three or four years. The outside of this tent, they tell us, was not remarkable; but it was lined with a single piece made of camels' hair, and beautifully decorated with festoons and sentences in their languages.† The curtains of the Tabernacle made of linen, blue, purple, scarlet, and cherubs, formed, probably, such an inward lining to that sacred tent.

Odd as a description Lady Montague gives of the Eastern buffaloes is, it may teach us how pleasing the red ram skins, which laid over the black goats' hair curtains, must, in that position, appear in their eyes. The buffaloes, which, she tells us, they use for the plough, are all black, with very short hair on their heads, their eyes extremely little, and white, so that they look like devils. The country people dye their tails and the hair of their forehead red, by way of ornament. To adorn these black animals, they dye some of them red: must not the red woolly ram skins laid over a black covering appear, in like manner, very ornamental in ancient Eastern eyes?

What is meant by what we translate *badgers' skins*, and in what manner they were made use of, are points that want to be ascertained.

When it is further added, that the modern Arab royal tents have no other covering than the common black hair cloth,‡ it becomes extremely probable, that the Tabernacle of Moses was the most magnificent tent that had ever at that time appeared in the world. Perhaps, it has not been equalled to this very day.

* Which, I think, is considerably more than three thousand pounds.

† Vol. i. p. 212.

‡ Phil. Trans. Abr. vol. iii. Account of a second voyage to Tadmor, October 13. D'Arvieux, indeed, tells us, that the tents of the emir he visited, were distinguished from the rest, by being of white cloth. Voy. dans la Pal. p. 173

OBSERVATION XLIII.

OF THEIR HUTS AND BOOTHS, WITH SOME CURIOUS PARTICULARS CONCERNING THE TIGRIS.

TENTS seem to be the most eligible habitations of these migratory families; however we find that the Eastern people frequently content themselves with huts or booths, when they dwell not in houses.

So Dr. Pococke describes* the summer habitations of some of the people of Mesopotamia, which I mentioned just now, as made of loose stones covered with reeds and boughs. He speaks also† of some open huts, made of boughs, raised about three feet from the ground, which he found near St. John d'Acre, in which some Arabs lived. Other authors mention this way of living under booths also. They, it seems, are built of very different materials, according to Dr. Pococke, and in different forms in consequence, according, I suppose, to what they found for their purpose in the places in which they were.

These materials are of so perishing a nature, and trees, and reeds, and bushes, are so very scarce in some places, that one would wonder they should not all accommodate themselves with tents; but we find they do not in fact. Though therefore, without doubt, many of the Israelites in the Wilderness had convenient tents, for as their ancestors had been wont to live in tents, so many of them might live in Egypt after the same manner, to which we must add their spoiling the Egyptians, yet we may believe many of them had no better habitations than booths, since the commemorating their way of living in the Wilderness was to be by continuing such a number of days under booths, not under tents. It might indeed have been attended with some inconvenience to Israel, to have been

* Vol. ii. p. 159. † P. 79, 80.

required to furnish themselves universally with tents for the celebration of this feast, after they were settled in houses, but that would hardly have occasioned Moses to have directed them to make booths, if it would have spoiled the liveliness of the representation. But if there was a mixture of tents and booths, their living in booths was sufficient; and as they are a meaner, and less convenient sort of habitation than a tent, the living in these was rather to be directed, as a more affecting representation of the state of their forefathers.

And barren as that Wilderness is in some places, we find it has several spots of trees,* sufficient for the making a slight sort of booths for numbers of people; to such sort of places they were without doubt conducted as much as might be, on account of their cattle, as well as to get materials for these Tabernacles; and if in any of their journies numbers of them were obliged to lie in the open air, they might do it very safely, as Dr. Shaw experienced, who tells us,† in his journies betwixt Cairo and Mount Sinai, the heavens were their covering every night; the sand, with a carpet spread over it, their bed; and a change of raiment, made up into a bundle, their pillow. That in this situation they were every night wet to the skin by the copious dew that dropped upon them; though without the least danger of catching cold, such is the excellency of this climate. From the heat of the day, the rocks also of this wild country might afford them give him the convenience of them being such, that we find olerable and Heyman made use of it,‡ and in one place not inpreferred it even to the shade of trees,§ when th of Jotravelling in this very Wilderness. the ex-

, abroad

* Egmont and Heyman. vol. ii. p. 151, and again, p. 152. † it is set,

‡ "During the heat of the day we rested under the shadow iem, one tain," vol. ii. p. 154.

§ "This is a very pleasant valley, and full of trees. W very rebaited under the shadow of a mountain, the side of which wa cavated. Here we found the names of several travellers wh form any here." p. 152.

, 52

The description that Job gives, of some that were driven from the more cultivated parts of the country into the Wilderness, may be illustrated, perhaps, by these circumstances. Job xxx. 5, 6, 7, *They were driven forth from among men, to dwell in the clefts of the valleys, in caves of the earth, and in the rocks. Among the bushes they brayed, under the nettles,* or *thorns,* as others translate the word, *they were gathered together;* that is, under the booths they made to shelter themselves from the weather.

The booth of Jonah was not, as I suppose, of this kind; and as I think I can give further light to that part of this story than I have met with in commentators, I shall here set down my remarks, though I am very unable to answer all the questions, relating to this subject, a curious inquirer would be disposed to ask.

So Jonah went out of the city, and sat on the East side of the city, and there made him a booth, and sat under it in the shadow, until he might see what would become of the city. And the LORD GOD, *prepared a gourd, and made it to come up over Jonah, that it might be a shadow over his head.* A worm the next morning smote the gourd that it withered: *And it came to pass when the sun did arise, that* GOD *prepared a vehement East wind; and the sun beat upon the head of Jonah, that he fainted, and wished in himself to die.* Jonah iv. 5—8. Did Jonah in the nself a booth of boughs in which to wait the event cestor prophecy, and did the gourd come up in one single might erward? So our version supposes, and so does must e his commentary. But if this had in reality been lieve n one cannot easily conjecture why the coming since t gourd should have given him such an exquisite dernes r its destruction so much pain, when he had his under l of elter him, which he had before thought very attende

e, escription Thevenot gives of this country, who

* Vo a L it, it appears that the lands of the Mesopota-

the Tigris, opposite to where Nineveh stood,

are low, for these lands are cultivated and watered by means of little ditches into which the water is poured out of the river;* consequently it might be, and probably was, for the sake of the view he might have of the city, that Jonah placed himself on the East side of Nineveh, rather than on the West in Mesopotamia, toward his own country, and not as Lowth imagines, the better to escape the pursuit of the Ninevites in case they should follow him to take him; there is not the least ground to imagine Jonah had such jealousy.

The side of Mesopotamia, Thevenot says,† is well sowed, but the Curdistan shore barren and uncultivated. This made a shelter of more importance to Jonah, few or no trees, we may presume, growing in this barren place, under which Jonah might have placed himself on the withering of the gourd. This accounts for his uneasiness; but then it will not be easy to conjecture from whence he could get boughs to make himself a booth. This, joined with the consideration, that the word translated *booth*, סך *suc*, sometimes signifies a *shelter*, in the preparing of which *no art is used*, Jer. xxv. 38, and Job xxxviii. 40; and that the words, *the* LORD *prepared a gourd*, may signify he *had* prepared one; and may lead us to think that this gourd, which Jonah happened to find in this desert place, was the booth under which he placed himself and all that he had, making it his defence against the heat; the perishing of which in course must give him great pain; especially when we consider the intolerable heat of that country, which is such, that Thevenot informs us, he did not go to visit the reputed tomb of Jonah, on the East side of the Tigris, on account of the excessive heat; there being no possibility of stirring abroad two hours after the sun is risen, till an hour after it is set, the walls being so hot, that, half a foot from them, one feels the heat, as if it were of a hot iron.‡

About the kind of plant, whose shape was so very refreshing to Jonah, I do not take upon me to form any

* Part 2. p. 50, 56. † P. 56. ‡ P. 52.

conjectures. And as to some of the abovementioned particulars, it is but right to acknowledge, that Rauwolff gave a very different account from Thevenot, if he is rightly translated: for in that collection of Mr. Ray he is represented as saying, that they sow the greatest part of the corn there on the *Eastern* side of the Tigris, and that the *Mesopotamia* side is so sandy, and dry, that you would think you were in the deserts of Arabia.* Thevenot is however generally acknowledged to have been an exact observer; and his account, I think I may venture to say from what I have been remarking, throws light on the history of Jonah, and may on that account be believed to be a just one: however, it will give me great pleasure to find hereafter this affair ascertained, by some curious and accurate person.†

* P. 188.

† I have no doubt of the correctness of Rauwolff's account: Mr. Jackson, who ascended the Tigris from the Persian Gulf to Bagdad, gives nearly the same account. "This part of the country, except about fifty yards by the river side, *Western* bank, is a perfect desert, though it appears to have been once cultivated," p. 73. Again: "It did not appear that this part had ever been cultivated, the *Western* bank, nor did I perceive any signs of vegetation, except near the banks of the river, which are in general covered with a thick jungle of willows and shrubs," p. 78 And again: "Without the walls of Bagdad, to the *Westward* is entirely desert, not having the least traces of vegetation except on the banks of the river Tigris. Behind the city to the Northward the same barrenness prevails; there is no water, nor any cultivation. The city, however, is chiefly supplied with fruits and vegetables from the opposite side, the *Eastern*, of the river, where there is much cultivation." *Journey overland from India*, p. 95. The affair is thus ascertained by a gentleman who probably never knew that Mr. Harmer, or any other, had expressed a wish of the kind. The fact therefore may be considered as completely established. EDIT.

CHAP III.

CONCERNING THEIR CITIES, HOUSES, &c.

OBSERVATION I.

GENERAL ACCOUNTS OF THE BUILDINGS IN THE EAST.

As Dr. Shaw has given* a very large and instructive account of the Eastern buildings; I think it necessary to give the following extract from his work, which contains all that can be deemed essential to the present subject.

"To most of their houses there is a smaller one annexed, which sometimes rises one story higher than the house; at other times, it consists of one or two rooms only and a *terrace;* whilst others that are built, as they frequently are, over the porch or gateway, have, if we except the ground floor, which they have not, all the conveniences that belong to the house, properly so called. There is a door of communication from them into the gallery of the house, kept open or shut at the discretion of the master of the family; besides another door which opens immediately, from a privy staircase, down into the porch or street, without giving the least disturbance to the house. These back houses, as we may call them, are known by the name of *olee* or *oleah;* for the house, prop-

* Tome i. Part 3. Ch. 3. Sect. 5.

☞ On the subject of their buildings, manner of life, &c. in the East, Dr. Shaw is very particular and instructive; and to his descriptions Mr. Harmer frequently refers, supposing Dr. Shaw's Travels, to be always within the reach of his reader. But as this is certainly taking too much for granted, I have taken the liberty not only in this, but in various other parts of the work, to introduce from Dr. Shaw, as well as from others, whatever I judged necessary to make Mr. Harmer's Collections intelligible; referring only to such authors as *authorities*, and not for such articles as should appear in their respective places in this work. EDIT.

erly so called, is دار *dar*, or بيت *beet*; and in them strangers are usually lodged and entertained; in them the sons of the family are permitted to keep their concubines; whither likewise the men are wont to retire, from the hurry and noise of their families, to be more at leisure for meditation or diversions; besides the use they are at other times put to, in serving for wardrobes and magazines.

The עליה *a leeah*, of the Holy Scriptures being literally the same appellation with علية *âleeah*, is accordingly so rendered in the Arabic version. We may suppose it to have been a structure of the like contrivance. The *little chamber*, consequently, that was built by the Shunamite for Elisha, 2 Kings iv. 10, whither, as the text instructs us, he retired at his pleasure, without breaking in upon the private affairs of the family, or being, in his turn, interrupted by them in his devotions; the *summer chamber* of Eglon, Judg. iii. 20—23, which, in the same manner with these, seems to have had privy stairs belonging to it, through which Ehud escaped after he had revenged Israel upon that king of Moab; the *chamber over the gate*, 2 Sam. xviii. 33, whither, for the greater privacy, David withdrew himself to weep for Absalom; the *upper chamber*, upon whose terrace Ahaz, for the same reason, erected his altars, 2 Kings xxiii. 12; the *inner chamber* likewise, or as it is better expressed in the original, a chamber within a chamber, where the young Prophet anointed Jehu, 2 Kings ix. 2, seem to have been all of them structures of the like nature and contrivance of these *olees*.

Besides; as עליה or עלית, in the Hebrew text, and علية in the Arabic version, is expressed by υπερωον in the LXXII. it may be presumed that the same word υπερωον, where it occurs in the New Testament, implies the same thing. The upper chamber, therefore, or υπερωον, where Tabitha was laid after her death, Acts ix. 36, and where Eutychus also fell down from the third loft, Acts xx. 3,

9, &c. were so many back houses, or *olees*; as they are indeed so called in the Arabic version.*

That ὑπερῳον denotes such a private apartment as one of these *olees*, for garrets, from the flatness of these roofs, are not known in these climates, seems likewise probable from the use of the word among the classic authors. For the ὑπερῳον, where Mercury and Mars carried on their amours, *Iliad* ii. v. 184, and B. ver. 524, and where Penelope kept herself with the young virgins† at a distance from the solicitations of her wooers, *Odyss.* O v. 515—16, appear to carry along with them circumstances of greater privacy and retirement, than are consistent with chambers in any other situation.

Nay, further; that עליה, *âleeah* or ὑπερῳον could not barely signify a single chamber, *cœnaculum*, or dining room, but one of these contiguous, or back houses, divided into several apartments, seems to appear from the circumstance of the altars which Ahaz erected upon the top of his עליה. For besides the supposed privacy of his idolatry, which upon account of the perpetual view and observation of the family, could not have been carried on undiscovered in any apartment of the house; I say, if this his עליה had been only one single chamber of the בת *house*,‡ the roof of it would have been ascribed to the בת *house*, and not to the עליה *âleeah*, which, upon this supposition, could only make one chamber of it. A circumstance of the like nature may probably be collected from the Arabic version of ὑπερῳον Acts ix. 39, where it is not

* עליה comes from עלה *alah* to ascend, go up, &c. علية *aleeah*, or, Dr. Shaw pronounces it *elle*, comes from علي *aala* above, upon; and answers very properly to the Greek ὑπερῳον from ὑπερ *above*, or *upon*, ωον an *upper chamber*, or according to others ατον, an *extremity*. EDIT.

† Athen. Deip. l. ii. c. 16. Eustath. in ver. 184. Iliad. π. p. 1054, and Iliad. π. v. 514. p. 272.

‡ בת this word is erroneously written in Dr. Shaw all through this piece. In the signification of *house* it occurs no where in the Hebrew Bible without the *yod* בית, generally pronounced *bayith*. It is written precisely in the same way in the Arabic, بيت *beet*. EDIT.

rendered عليه *âleeah*, as in ver. 37, but غرفة *girfat*; intimating, perhaps, that particular chamber of the *âleeah*, where the damsel was laid. The falling likewise of Eutychus from the third loft, as the context seems to imply, of the υπερωον, there being no mention made of a house, may likewise be received as a further proof of what I have been endeavouring to explain. For it has been already observed, that *olees* are built in the same manner and with the like conveniences as the *house* itself; consequently what position soever the υπερωον may be supposed to have from the seeming etymology of the name, will be applicable to the *olee* as well as to the house.

The word υπερωον will likewise admit of another interpretation in our favour; inasmuch as it denotes not so much a chamber remarkable for the high situation of it, as Eustathius and others after him give into, but such a building, as is erected *upon* or *beyond* the walls or borders of another; just as these olees are actually contrived with regard to the בת, or house. Neither will this interpretation interfere with the high situation that υπερωον may be supposed to have in being frequently joined with the words αναβαινειν, or καταβαινειν. Because, the going in or out of the בת, or house, whose ground floor lies upon the same level with the street, could not be expressed by words of such import: whereas the olees, being usually situated over the porch or gateway, a small staircase is to be previously mounted before we can be said properly to enter them; and consequently αναβαινειν and καταβαινειν are more applicable to structures in such a situation, than to the house properly so called.

This method of building may further assist us, in accounting for the particular structure of the *temple* or *house of Dagon*, Judges xvi. and the great number of people that were buried in the ruins of it, by pulling down the two principal pillars that supported it. We read ver. 27, that about *three thousand persons were upon the roof to behold while Sampson made sport*,

viz. to the scoffing and deriding Philistines. Sampson therefore must have been in a court or area below; and consequently the temple will be of the same kind with the ancient τεμενη, or sacred enclosure, which were only surrounded either in part or on all sides with some plain or cloistered buildings. Several palaces, *doutwanas*, as the courts of justice are called in these countries, are built in this fashion; where upon their public festivals and rejoicings, a great quantity of sand is strewed upon the area, for the pellowans or wrestlers to fall upon; whilst the roofs of these cloisters are crowded with spectators, to admire their strength and activity. I have often seen numbers of people diverted in this manner upon the roof of the Dey's palace at Algiers; which, like many more of the same quality and denomination, has an advanced cloister, *over against the gate of the palace*, Esth. v. 1, made in the fashion of a large penthouse, supported by one or two contiguous pillars in the front, or else in the centre. In such open structures as these, the bashaws, kadees, and other great officers, distribute justice, and transact the public affairs of their provinces.

Here likewise they have their public entertainments, as the lords and others of the Philistines had in the house of Dagon. Upon a supposition therefore, that in the house of Dagon, there was a cloistered building of this kind, the pulling down the front or centre pillars, which supported it, would alone be attended with the like catastrophe that happened to the Philistines."

Shaw's Travels, p. 214—317, 4to edit. Lond. 1757.

OBSERVATION II.

OF THEIR STONE, AND MUD HOUSES.

THE author of the History of Ali Bey informs us, that the houses of the better sort in Cairo are built of stone, and generally two, and sometimes three stories high; but

those of the lower class are built of unburnt bricks, and only one story high.

This gives us, at once, a short and lively commentary on those words of the Prophet Isaiah, *All the people shall know, even Ephraim and the inhabitants of Samaria, that say in the pride and stoutness of heart, The bricks are fallen down, but we will build with hewn stones: the sycamores are cut down, but we will change them into cedars.**

Unburnt bricks are poor materials indeed for building, when compared with hewn stone, nearly approaching, it is probable, to marble, which is the difference now between the houses of the poorer Egyptians and the palaces of that country; and it should seem, was the difference anciently in Israel between houses of different ranks of people among them. And the opposing bricks, unburnt bricks, to a material so much more beautiful and durable as stone, if not marble, is placing the vaunting of Israel in a very strong point of light: *The bricks are fallen down, but we will build with hewn stones.*

The image appears to vary, when the Prophet speaks of sycamores and cedars, and from the demolition of houses, he seems to turn his thoughts to the destruction of their woods, since he uses the term *cut down*, not pulled down, as it should have been, had he been speaking of the ruin of houses, built with different degrees of expensiveness in the wood work, where cedar was reckoned a most magnificent material;† but Isaiah seems rather to refer to the Eastern way of making war, by cutting down the trees of a country. *The sycamores*, which grew in abundance in the low lands of Judea,‡ and were not much esteemed, *are cut down, but we will change them into cedars*, planting the precious cedar in the room of despicable sycamores.

* Ch. ix. 9, 10. † See 2 Sam. vii. 2. Jer. xxii. 14, 15.

‡ 1 Kings x. 27. 2 Chron. i. 18. ch. ix. 27

This same passage teaches us, that when great houses are spoken of in the Scriptures, it appears that we are to understand the term as expressing their much superior height, as well as the extent of the ground that they covered, two or three stories, while common houses had only the ground floor.

OBSERVATION III.

HOUSES BUILT PARTLY OF STONE, AND PARTLY OF EARTH AND STRAW.

THE manner of building walls, partly of stones, and in part of other materials, continues in the East to this day.

So de la Roque assures us, from the Memoirs from which he drew the account which he has published of Arabia the Happy, with which he was furnished by the French captain that went thither in 1708, "that the city of Moka is surrounded with walls built after the ancient manner, partly of stone, the rest of earth mixed with straw."*

This might do very well in a country where it seldom rains, which, it seems, is the case at Moka, it not having rained when he arrived there, for two years before;† yet in Judea, and some of the neighbouring countries, where there are frequent rains in winter, and sometimes the showers very heavy, it seems they had another mode of building their walls; instead of stones and unburnt bricks, or something very much like them, they were wont to make their walls partly of stone, and partly of wood. So the wall of the court of the temple of Solomon was originally built,‡ and such was the structure of it when it was rebuilt, on the return of the Jewish people from their captivity in Babylon,§ by the direction of the king of Persia.

* Moitié de pierres, moitié de terre battue avec de la paille, p. 91.

† P. 100. ‡ 1 Kings vii. 12. § Ezra vi. 4.

Their great cities were probably walled about much in the same manner; I do not know else how to account for what is said of the *burning the wall of Gaza with fire*, which is spoken of by the prophet Amos, ch. i. 6. The walls of Tyre and Rabbah appear to have been of a like structure, v. 10, 14. Such walls were capable of being set on fire. The walls of the old Russian cities, it is very well known, were oftentimes wholly formed of huge beams of timber laid one upon another, and firmly fastened together.

OBSERVATION IV

METHOD OF COOLING THEIR APARTMENTS.

Dr. Shaw tells us, their doors are large, and their chambers spacious; conveniences, as he observes, very well adapted to those hotter climates.* But when Eglon is represented as receiving Ehud and Death, in a *parlour of cooling*, as it is called, in the margin of Judges iii. 20, or rather in a *chamber of cooling*, something more seems to be meant than merely its having a large door, or being spacious; at least there are *now* other contrivances in the East, to give coolness to particular rooms, which are very common; and though the time in which Eglon lived, is acknowledged to be of very remote antiquity, yet we are to remember he was a prince, and in the palaces of such these contrivances without doubt began.

The Doctor is silent upon this point, but Russell has given us the following account of one of their methods of cooling rooms. Their great houses at Aleppo are composed of apartments on each of the sides of a square court, all of stone; and consist of a ground floor, which is generally arched, and an upper story, which is flat on the top, and either terraced with hard plaster, or paved stone; above stairs is a colonade, if not round the whole court.

* P. 207.

at least fronting the West, off from which are their rooms and kiosks; these latter are a sort of wooden divans, that project a little way from their other buildings, and hang over the street; they are raised about a foot and a half higher than the floor of the room, to which they are quite open, and by having windows in front and on each side, there is a great draught of air, which makes them cool in the summer, the advantage chiefly intended by them.*

They have another way of cooling their rooms in Egypt. It is done by openings at the top, which let the fresh air into them. Egmont and Heyman,† as well as Maillet,‡ make mention of them, but the last mentioned author gives the most distinct account of these contrivances; they make, he tells us, their halls extremely large and lofty, with a dome at the top, which toward the North has several open windows; these are so constructed as to throw the North wind down into these rooms, and by this means, though the country is excessively hot, they can make the coolness of these apartments such as, oftentimes, not to be borne without being wrapped in furs. Egmont and Heyman speak of chambers cooled after this manner, as well as halls.§

* By the picture the Doctor has given us of one of these houses, they appear somewhat like our bow windows, only latticed instead of having panes of glass.

† Vol. ii. p. 83. ‡ Let. 1, and Let. 2.

§ "Another method, says Dr. Russell, MS. note, of cooling their chambers, is by means of ventilators, called *bashings*." Dr. Pococke gives us a more intelligible account of the method of cooling their apartments in Cairo. He observes, "In towns, the lower part of the houses, for about five feet, is of stone, and in some parts, the corners are often built of frames of wood; and the large windows commonly set out so as to command a view of the street. They rarely live in the lower rooms, and I suppose it is not esteemed wholesome; their roofs are generally flat, with a cement over them, and sometimes only earth: over the middle of their great saloon they have often a dome or cupola that gives light, and sometimes they have a contrivance by which the *middle part opens at top to let in the air*, when they think it convenient; and they have usually the large cover set up over the openings in such a manner as to keep out the sun, and leave a free passage for the air." Travels, vol. i. p. 194. EDIT.

Eglon's appears to have been a chamber, and what Shaw calls an *oleë*, which gives a propriety to the mention that is made of Ehud's passing through the porch,* which no interpreter before the Doctor has, that I know of, remarked: but whether it was cooled by a kiosk, as they are called at Aleppo, or by an Egyptian dome, or by some contrivance distinct from both, is of no consequence to determine. That some contrivance to mitigate the extreme heat of that climate began early to obtain, in the palaces of princes, is natural to believe; that it begun as early as the time of Eglon, this passage puts out of all doubt.

It was the more necessary, as Eglon appears to have kept his court at Jericho,† where the heat is so excessive, that it has proved fatal to some even in March. See after, p. 296.

Their ceiling their rooms with wood, and neatly painting, and sometimes gilding them, Dr. Shaw takes notice of as well as Russell; but this account of their kiosks gives a more complete comment on Jer. xxii. 14, which speaks of *thorough aired chambers*,‡ and *cutting out windows*, as well as ceiling with cedar, and painting with vermilion.§

* "It is necessary," says Mr. Harmer, "to consult the Doctor's book to understand this, if we have forgotten his account. Through all these papers, I have supposed my readers acquainted with his travels." Dr. Shaw's whole account I have inserted in Observation the first. EDIT.

† Judges iii. 13—28.

‡ See the margin. Arias Montanus translates the words עליות מרוחים *aleeoth meruvacheem*, Cœnacula *vento* exposita.

§ Egmont and Heyman give an account of a square tower in the centre of a roof of a grand saloon at Damascus, for admitting the fresh air, v. ii. p. 254. If kiosks, then, alone are used at Aleppo, domes and towers for cooling rooms are used in other places for this purpose, nor are they peculiar to Egypt. The MS. C. tells us, the eastern windows are very large, and even with the floor. It is no wonder Eutychus might fall out, if the lattice was not well fastened, or if it was decayed, when, sunk into a deep sleep, he leaned with all his weight against it, Acts xx. 9.

OBSERVATION V

OF THE NARROWNESS OF THE DOORS OF THE ENCLOSURES ROUND THEIR HOUSES.

WHAT makes the comparison used by our LORD so painful to the mind, when he said, *It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of* GOD,* seems to be its appearing quite unnatural, as we are wont to have no conception of its being at all in use to make a camel pass through any narrow passage. Very widely extended deserts is the idea we associate with that of a camel; such an animal's being put to force its way through a narrow passage we have no notion of: it therefore appears unnatural, and gives us uneasiness. But this is wholly owing to our being unacquainted with local circumstances.

I have elsewhere given an account of its being common for the Arabs to ride into houses, and commit acts of great violence, if measures are not taken to prevent them. The Eastern doors therefore are often made very low, in order to guard against them,† not above three feet in height.‡

This keeps out the Arabs, who are almost centaurs, and seldom tempted to dismount in their excursions, but, we should suppose, must be very inconvenient for the inhabitants, who make so much use of camels, and must often want to introduce them into their court yards; but, though they are so much taller than the Arab horses, this is done, however, by training up their camels, not only to

* Matt. xix. 24, and in two of the other Evangelists.

† See p. 207, Observ. xi.

‡ This must mean the doors of the *enclosure* round the house; for the doors of the houses are generally made very *large*, for the purpose of admitting plenty of fresh air into their apartments. See the preceding Observation. EDIT.

kneel down when they are loaded and unloaded, but to make their way on their knees through such small door ways.

This must sometimes, without doubt, be attended with great difficulty, and makes the comparison of our LORD sufficiently natural: It would be as easy to force a camel through a door way as small as the eye of a needle, as for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of GOD.*

Strong painting this! according to the Eastern custom it is allowed; but nothing unnatural, since camels are often forced through a small aperture, though certainly much larger than the eye of the largest needle that ever was made; the Arabs of the times of our LORD, and indeed long before,† being of the same plundering disposition with those of the present generation, and consequently must have been guarded against in much the same manner.

I have not only met with an account in some book of travels, of camels making their way on their knees through the low Eastern door ways; but I have found in the papers of a very ingenious clergyman, containing observations of a similar kind to these, that he had been assured by a gentleman that lived many years in Morocco, that the entrances into the houses there are low, for a similar reason, and that loaded camels pass them on their knees.

* This is a proverbial mode of speech among the Asiatics, merely to express the *impossibility* of a thing. So KORAN Surat *Alaaraf*, 7. v. 41. "The gates of heaven shall not be opened unto them, nor shall they enter

حتى يلج الجمل في سم الخياط

into Paradise *until a camel pass through the eye of a needle.*

So in the Rabbins. *They do not show a man a palm tree of gold, nor an Elephant going through the eye of a needle.* RAB. BERACOTH. Rabbi *Shesheth* answered Rab. *Amram.* "Perhaps thou art one of those of Pombeditha *who can make an Elephant pass through the eye of a needle.*" That is, says the Lexicon, called *Aruch, who speak things that are impossible.* BAVA METSIA. See Lightfoot, vol. ii. p. 219.

† Jer. iii. 2.

OBSERVATION VI.

IMMENSE STONES FOUND IN ANCIENT RUINS IN THE EAST.

MANY people have been much surprised at the largeness of the stones that are found in the ruins of some ancient buildings, especially of some that were raised on the tops of high hills.

The remains of some structures on the top of Mount Tabor have, in particular, been much wondered at on this account. "This mountain," according to le Bruyn, "is very high and very steep, nearly of the form of a sugarloaf. And as it was not to be ascended on horseback, we alighted at the foot of the mountain. We were half an hour in climbing it, and arrived at the top very much fatigued."* In the next page, he says, "I found here the remains of many buildings, the stones of which were extraordinarily large and heavy, could not have been brought thither but with incredible labour; for it cannot be said that they were taken from the mountain itself, which is not of a rocky nature, nor stony; on the contrary it is, from the bottom to the top, quite covered with trees and underwood."

It seems to have been from the consideration of the extreme labour and difficulty attending the erection of such massive buildings, in such elevated situations, that the Prophet Zechariah says, *Who art thou, O great mountain! Before Zerubbabel thou shalt become a plain, and he shall bring forth the head stone thereof with shouting, Grace, Grace unto it!* ch. iv. 7 Nothing could excite a more lively apprehension of the difficulty of re-edifying the temple at Jerusalem, than an image of this kind, and at the same time of the comparative ease with which it was to be accomplished. It appeared beforehand like the erecting of a structure composed of enormous stones on the top of an high hill, but would in fact be found as easy as erecting a great building on a plain.

* Tome ii. p. 328.

OBSERVATION VII.

SERPENTS AND SCORPIONS FREQUENTLY LODGE IN THEIR HOUSES.

THAT serpents sometimes concealed themselves in the holes and chinks of the walls of the Eastern houses,* is supposed by the Prophet Amos, when he says, *As if a man did flee from a lion, and a bear did meet him; or went into the house, and leaned his hand on the wall, and a serpent bit him.*†

This is confirmed by a remarkable story, in the collections made by M. d'Herbelot, from the Eastern writers, which is in substance as follows: Amadeddulat, who reigned in Persia in the tenth century, and was a most generous prince, found himself reduced to great difficulties, arising from his want of attention to his treasury, his troops beginning to disband themselves from want of pay, when Fortune, which had raised him from a very low state, for he was nothing more than the son of a fisherman, who exercised his occupation on the Caspian Sea, undertook to maintain him in it. For, walking one day in one of the rooms of his palace, which had been before that time the residence of Jacout, who had been his antagonist, he perceived a serpent, which put its head out of a chink of the wall. Upon which he immediately ordered that the place should be searched, and the serpent killed. In opening the wall there, they found a secret place, in which they could not discover the serpent, but a treasure, which was lodged in several coffers, in which Jacout had deposited his most precious effects, consisting of gold, jewels, and clothes.‡

In like manner, I remember to have met with an account, in some of our travellers into the Levant, though I

* This is not unfrequent in *Western* houses also, as I have myself seen. EDIT.

† Ch. v. 19. ‡ Art. Amadeddulat.

cannot exactly point out the place, in which the writer gives an account of their being alarmed by a person's being stung by a scorpion, which was concealed in a hole of the wall of a house in which they then were, and on which that person had inadvertently laid his hand.

As venomous animals creep, not unfrequently, into holes in the walls of houses, so we shall have occasion, in a succeeding Observation, to take notice of the looser structure of many of the walls about their grounds, where it is reasonable to believe these venomous creatures still oftener hide themselves.

OBSERVATION VIII.

THEIR MANNER OF SLEEPING IN THE EAST, WITH AN ILLUSTRATION OF ECCL. IV. 11.

THE heat of the climate being such, it might appear somewhat surprising, that Solomon should speak of *two lying together in one bed, in order to get heat*, Eccl. iv. 11, did we not recollect, that this might be done sometimes for medicinal purposes; and hardly ever practised else.

It could not be in general a necessary management; it sometimes could hardly be borne in common life, in these very sultry regions.

Agreeably to this, Maillet remarks, that in Egypt they sleep each in a *separate* bed: that not only do the husband and the wife lie in two distinct beds in the same apartment, but that their female slaves, though several lodge in the same chamber, yet have each a separate mattress.*

But it might, in the age of Solomon, be thought to be a very efficacious management, to recal the vital heat where it was almost extinguished, which was enough to justify the propriety of this sentiment of Solomon, in the

* Let. 11. p. 124.

ears of the inhabitants of this sultry part of the world. It is certain it was used in the case of his father David, 1 Kings i. 1, 2.

In common, we may believe, they lodged as the people of Egypt now do. Luke xi. 7, is no argument to the contrary: *He from within shall answer and say, trouble me not: the door is now shut, and my children are with me in bed; I cannot rise and give thee,* for all this may signify nothing more, than we are all abed, do not disturb us; not we are all in *one* bed.*

This is, I hope, an easy view of the words of Solomon, which might otherwise be thought to be more proper in the mouth of a Siberian or Laplander, than in that of an inhabitant of Palestine. It has been observed in some of the preceding pages, that the cold of the night is very considerable even in these hot countries; they do not, however, now guard against it by lying two in a bed, probably, therefore, they did not anciently, as their customs seldom change.

OBSERVATION IX.

OF THEIR SLEEPING ROOMS, TIME OF REPOSING, &c.

The people of Aleppo, however, are so cautious to avoid a cool air when they sleep, that they choose for their bed chambers the smallest and lowest roofed rooms on the ground floor, according to Dr. Russell, burning also in them not only a lamp all the time, but often one or two pans of charcoal; which sometimes proves of bad consequence to them, and would certainly suffocate such as have not been accustomed to this bad practice. But all this is to be understood of the winter time; for in the summer, on the contrary, they are fond not only of sitting

* Sir John Chardin's MS. tells us, it is usual for a whole family to sleep in the same room, especially those in lower life, through the East; they laying their beds on the ground. This circumstance, added to what is said above, sets this affair in the clearest and strongest light.

n a cool air, but of sleeping in it also, and make use of lifferent methods to obtain this refreshment, lying on the iousetops, or having their beds made in their court yards, or the sake of coolness.

In like manner Dr. Pococke gives us to understand, hat they often lie in Egypt in those cool saloons, that iave cupolas to let in the air; for he says, that they have often a sofa at each end, and that as they live, so they often lie in these saloons, having their beds brought on the iofas.*

It is no wonder then that the servants of Eglon imagined that he might be disposed to sleep, in his chamber of cooling, or, in the Scripture phrase, to cover his feet, when, after observing that Ehud was departed, they found he door of the olee locked, as if he had a mind still to continue alone and undisturbed. It might be a time too when he was known frequently to indulge himself in sleep.†

* Vol. i. p. 194.

† The heat of these countries at noon is so great, in the summer time, hat the Eastern people frequently lie down to sleep in the roiddle of the ay, especially people of delicacy; it was so anciently, for we find Ishbosheth was laid on a bed at noon, when he was assassinated. 2 Sam. iv 5— The heat, however, at that time is not so great, especially in the first part of the summer, but that more hardy people can journey then; the ons of Rimmon, we find, were in motion, while Ishbosheth slept So we ind the curious editor of the Ruins of Palmyra, pursued his journey all day ong, in the middle of March, nver a very sandy, sultry desert, p. 33. Noon coming on, and the weather beginning to grow very warm, the ervants of Eglon probably thought their master might be inclined to sleep it noon, as, doubtless, he was commonly wont to do when the summer was nore advanced; and yet the weather not be so hot as to dissuade Ehud rom journeying and especially in such a critical situation. The papers ublished by Niebuhr give much the same account. In Arabia, it is so hot n July, and in August, that, except in a case of pressing necessity, nobody goes out from eleven in the morning till three in the afternoon; the Arabs seldom work during this time, they employ it commonly in sleeping in a vault, into which the air is let from above, &c. p. 6. So Sir J. Chardin, in his sixth MS. volume, speaking of the women's going out at evening to fetch water, Gen. xxiv. 11, says, "This is always done then, or in the morning, none stirring out of the house when the sun is any height above the horizon, without great necessity."

Dr. Russell, in a MS. note here, says, "They rise very early, dine at an early hour, and repose from one or two until four in the afternoon." Edit.

Ehud, it may be imagined, came with his attendants and presents to the quarries of Gilgal, in the neighbourhood of Jericho, and from thence in form to a public audience in some open place; that having acquired the good graces and the confidence of Eglon, by the agreeableness of his present, he obtained the favour of a private audience at a set hour; that sending away all his attendants from the place where they put themselves in order to appear before the king, excepting those that his quality made it decent for him to retain, he came back from thence with these few attendants, and being admitted for privacy into this apartment, as he pretended to have some affair of secrecy to impart, he there killed Eglon; and coming back to his attendants, mounted with them, and followed those that could not retire with the swiftness he could, and who therefore were previously sent away.*

OBSERVATION X.

OF THEIR SLEEPING ON THE TOPS OF THEIR HOUSES.

They sleep, in the summer, on the tops of the houses at Aleppo, and they do the same in Judea.

So Egmont and Heyman tell us, that at Caipha,† at the foot of Mount Carmel, "the houses are small and flatroofed, where, during the summer, the inhabitants sleep in arbours made of the boughs of trees." They mention also tents of rushes on the flat roofs of the houses at Tiberias,‡ which are doubtless for the same purpose, though they do not say so. Dr. Pococke in like manner tells us,§ "that when he was at Tiberias in Galilee, he was entertained by the sheik's steward, the sheik himself having much company with him, but sending him provisions from his own kitchen, and that they supped on the top of the house for coolness, according to their custom, and lodged there likewise,

* See before, p. 288.

† Vol. ii. p. 4.

‡ P. 32.

§ Vol. ii. p. 69.

in a sort of closet, about eight feet square, of a wicker work, plastered round toward the bottom, but without any door, each person having his cell." In Galilee then we find they lodged a stranger, whom they treated with respect, on the top of the house, and even caused him to sup there. This was the latter end of May.

This writer is more distinct than the others on this point, and I have recited his account at large, because it may perhaps lead to the true explanation of 1 Sam. ix. 25, 26, which verses tell us, that after they descended from the high place, Samuel conversed with Saul, על הגג *âl haggag*, on the housetop; and that at the spring of the day Samuel called Saul to the housetop; or, as it may be equally well translated, *on the housetop ;** That is, Samuel conversed with him for coolness on the housetop in the evening, and in the morning called Saul who had lodged there all night, and was not got up, saying, *Up, that I may send thee away.* The Septuagint seem to have understood it very much in this light, for they thus translate the passage, *And they spread a bed for Saul on the housetop, and he slept;* which shows how suitable this explanation is to those that are acquainted with Eastern customs. As it is represented in our translation, Samuel called Saul *to* the housetop in the morning, but no account can be easily given for this; it does not appear to have been for secrecy, for he did not anoint then, but after he had left Samuel's house, for which transaction the Prophet expressly required secrecy. *As they were going down to the end of the city, Samuel said to Saul, bid the servant pass on before us, and he passed on, but stand thou still awhile, that I may show thee the word of* God.

* According to Noldius, who assures us ה *locale*, signifies *in* or *on* a place, p. 217, 218, Ed. 1734, as well as motion *to* a place where that motion ceases. The author, indeed, of the notes on Noldius denies this, but 2 Sam. xii. 16, Dan. x. 9, Jer. xxix. places mentioned by Noldius, prove him mistaken.

This sleeping on the terraces of their houses is only in summer time. By this then we may determine in the general, that this secret inauguration of Saul was in that part of the year.

Dr. Shaw has cited this passage concerning Samuel and Saul, when mentioning the various uses to which the people of the East put the flat roofs of their houses, though without explaining it; but he has not mentioned among the other Scriptures, that relating to Nebuchadnezzar, who is described by the Prophet as walking on the roof of his palace, and taking a view of Babylon, when he fell, upon surveying that mighty city, into that haughty soliloquy, which brought after it a dreadful humiliation.

This is the more to be regretted, because though many have, all have not considered the passage in this light. Our own translation in particular has not, but renders the words, *He walked in the palace of the kingdom of Babylon*, Dan. iv. 29. and has thrown the other reading, "*upon* the palace," into the margin, as less preferable. But to those that are acquainted with Eastern customs, who recollect the passage, which Dr. Shaw, it seems, did not, there cannot be any doubt how it is to be understood. "Sur la terrasse," says Sir J. Chardin, in his MS. note on this place, "pour le plaisir de la vue, pour de la considerer la ville, et pour prendre la frais, et c'est ce que prouve le verset suivant." That is, he walked upon the terrace, for the pleasure of the prospect, to take a view of the city, and to enjoy the fresh air, which the following verse proves. Nothing can be more natural than this interpretation.

OBSERVATION XI.

OF THEIR ARBOURS ON HOUSETOPS.

No wonder they sleep only on the tops of the houses in summer, since, however pleasant these arbours and

these wicker work closets may be in the dry part of the year, they must be very disagreeable in the wet, and they that should then lodge in them would be exposed to a continual dropping. To be limited consequently to such a place, to have no other apartment to live in, must be very incommoding.

To such circumstances then probably it is that Solomon allludes, when he says, *It is better to dwell in a corner of the housetop, than with a brawling woman in a wide house*, Prov. xxi. 9, and chap. xxv. 24. A corner, covered with boughs or rushes, and made into a little arbour, in which they used to sleep in summer, but which must have been a very incommodious place to have made an entire dwelling. To the same allusion belong these other expressions, that speak of the contentions of a wife being like a continual dropping, Prov xix. 13, and chap. xxvii. 15, put together, they amount to this, "It is better to have no other habitation than an arbour on the housetop, and be there exposed to the wet of winter, which is oftentimes of several days continuance, than to dwell in a wide and commodious house with a brawling woman, for her contentions are a continual dropping, and wide as the house may be, you will not be able to avoid them, and get out of their reach."

Nor will it be any objection to this observation, if it should be affirmed, that the booths and wicker work closets are not made at the corners of their parapet walls, but on the middle of their roofs, as very probably they are, the better to receive the fresh air; since the word פנה *pinnath*, translated *corner*, does not only signify a place where two walls join, but a tower also, as appears Zeph. i. 16, and consequently may signify such a sort of arbour, as well as one formed by means of two joining walls.*

* Dr. Russell's MS. note here casts more light on this subject. He says, "these booths are often placed *near* the walls; as in the middle of the terrace they would be too much exposed to the wind. EDIT.

OBSERVATION XII.

A NUMBER OF FAMILIES LIVE IN THE SAME HOUSE IN THE EAST.

It is supposed under the last Observation, that Solomon represents a house as sometimes divided between a number of families, anciently, in Judea, as it often is amongst us; since he gives us to understand, that in dividing the apartments of a house, it would be better to be put off with a booth on the roof, and have no other room, than to possess a palace for largeness together with a contentious wife.

Nor is this to be wondered at, since at this day a number of families live in one house in those countries, dividing it between them; and this, notwithstanding the privacy with which the Eastern families are obliged to live; by their jealous masters. This Dr. Shaw affirms to be true of Barbary,* though he makes no use of it for the illustration of those places of Scripture. Egmont and Heyman speak of the same practice in Egypt, and tell us, that the inhabitants of Rosetta live in general in large public buildings, called Okel, built of brick, very lofty, and in a square form, having an open court in the middle very convenient for tradesmen.† Some of the houses of the great, designed for a single family, are on the other hand extremely large, are built round two courts, and are filled with servants: there is such a thing then as wide houses of society, among them as Solomon speaks. Russell may be consulted on this point by those that are curious, as may also Egmont and Heyman, vol. 2, p. 83, and p. 253, 254.

OBSERVATION XIII.

UPPER ROOMS THE MOST SPLENDID IN THE EASTERN HOUSES.

I do not know that it has been remarked, that the chief and the most ornamented apartments of the palace Jehoi-

* P. 208, and 295. † Vol. ii. p. 113, 114.

akim set himself to build, are represented by Jeremiah as upper rooms, ch. xxii. 13, *Wo be to him that buildeth his house by unrighteousness, and his chambers by wrong, that saith, I will build me a wide house, and large,* or thorough aired *chambers;* but I believe none of our authors would express themselves after this manner: the lower rooms would be the chief objects of their attention. It was perfectly natural, however, in Jeremiah, there is reason to think; for the chief rooms of the houses of Aleppo at this day are those above; the ground floor there being chiefly made use of for their horses and servants.*

Perhaps the Prophet Amos referred to this circumstance, when he spoke of the heavens as GOD's chambers, the most noble and splendid apartments of the palace of GOD, and where his presence is chiefly manifested; and the bundle or collection of its offices, its numerous little, mean apartments, the divisions of this earth. Amos ix. 6.

OBSERVATION XIV

CURIOUS ACCOUNT OF THE DIFFERENT KINDS OF WINDOWS, MENTIONED IN THE SCRIPTURES.

THE ancient Jewish windows seem not to have been of one kind: two different words are used in the Hebrew to express these conveniences, and other circumstances lead us to apprehend they were of two sorts:† the one very small, and used only for looking abroad in a concealed manner; the other, large and airy.

Irwin, in his voyage up the Red Sea, has unintentionally given us a description of the first of these, expressed in the Hebrew by the term *arubbah*, which appears to be also used to express those openings through which pigeons

* Russell, vol. i. p. 18.

† See the note at the end of this Observation. EDIT.

passed into the cavities of the rocks, or into those buildings which were designed for the reception of their nests, in Isaiah lx. 8.

Speaking of their abode, and indeed of a sort of confinement which they suffered, at Ghinnah, in the Upper Egypt, Irwin says,* that one of the windows of the house in which they lodged, and through which they looked into the street, more resembled a pigeon hole, than any thing else. And in a succeeding page,† he describes the windows as very small and very high. The word is indeed derived from a root which expresses the laying in wait for a person, such people looking through small holes, waiting for the approach of their prey.

In that early state of things, and in a country where fires are but little used, it is no wonder that one and the same word is used for one of these peeping holes, and for an outlet to smoke.‡ In our own country, a few centuries ago, chimnies were little in use, and a hole, in or near the top of the room, was thought sufficient for the smoke's discharge.

The other kind of windows, expressed by a very different word, were large enough to admit a person of mature age being thrown out of them as happened in the case of Jezebel.§ Lattices were in use, we know,‖ before that

* P. 185. † P 201.

‡ For in that sense it is used, Hos. xiii. 3. § 2 Kings ix. 30, 32, 33.

‖ From Judges v 28. The window of Rahab, through which she let down the two Israelitish spies, was of the same large sort, as the circumstances show; and the binding the cord in a network form in the window, might appear natural enough, as answering the purpose of a lattice, and so occasion no suspicion. Perhaps it was previously to this, made use of for that purpose, and might be of scarlet, as women *of her profession* in the Esst, at this day, affect magnificence extremely, and might do so then It is otherwise difficult to account for its colour. Certainly the Eastern lattices now are made of very different materials, wood, metal, marble HARMER.

Mr Harmer here takes it for granted, as do many others, that Rshab was really a *public prostitute*; but for the honour of the Israelites, the spies, and the good woman herself, let it be known, that it has been often proved, and may be demonstrated that the word זונה *zonah*, Judg. xi. 1, and

time, but they appear not to have been universally used even in those large windows; or if they were, were moveable. The windows of the oratory of Daniel* seem to have been quite open to view, when the shutters were removed, since Daniel chose to make his testimony to the exclusive worship of God, neglected by others, as public

πανδοκευτρια, Heb. xi. 31, means a *hostess*, *publican*, or *inn-keeper*, and so it was properly understood by the Chaldee Paraphrast, who renders the term אתתא פונדקיתא *ittetha pundekeetha*, a *woman*, an *inn-keeper*, the Chaldee term פונדק *pundak*, being an evident corruption of the Greek πανδοκειον, an *inn*, as Buxtorf has very properly remarked. As to the תקות חוט השני *tikkevath chut hashshanee* of the sacred text, which we translate *line of scarlet thread*, I believe it means simply *a piece of cloth made of scarlet thread*, which the woman probably hung out by way of *flag*, which might have been the sign agreed on between her and the spies. EDIT.

* Dan. vi. 10.

There are not less than *seven* different words which our translators have rendered by the term *window*, in our common English Bible.

1. הלון *hallon*, Gen. viii. 6. Jos. ii. 15, from הלל *halal*, to shine briskly, to irradiate, probably because some very translucent medium was used to introduce and diffuse the light through their apartments. For this purpose, polished oyster shells are still used in the East.

2. ארבה *arubbah*, Hos. xiii. 3 2 Kings vii. 19. Isai. lx. 8, from ארב Arab, *to lie in wait*, as Mr. H. has properly observed, probably means such openings as those in ancient castles through which they shot their arrows.

3. צהר *tsohar*, Gen. vi. 16, and elsewhere. The word in Gen. v. 26, properly means something pellucid or transparent, to admit the light of the *meridian sun*, placed in the roof or top of the house. The word frequently occurs in the Bible, and is often translated *noon*, and *noon day*.

4. אשנב *ashnab*, Jud. v. 28, Prov. vii. 6. This word appears to mean properly a *lattice*, to ventilate and cool the inner apartments.

5. שמשת *shemeshot*, Isaiah liv. 12, from שמש the sun, because such windows were the medium through which the solar light was transmitted in their houses.

6. שקף *shekuph*, 1 Kings vi. 4. vii. 4, 5. This probably means no more than an *aperture* in the wall, with a *shutter* occasionally to close it; and is different from the הלון *hallon*, or roof-window, which always stood open to admit the light.

7. כוין *kaveen*. Dan. vi. 10, probably from כוה *kava*, to *burn*, or *scorch*, because placed in that part of the house on which the *post-meridian* or afternoon sun shone.

Perhaps most of these terms mean no more than the *openings* in the walls; but what the *transparent* substances were, placed in these openings, we know not. EDIT.

as might be, whereas the action would have been a good deal concealed by thick worked lattices.

It may not be improper to add, that the word that expresses those very small windows is used by Solomon in Eccles. xii. where he compares the human body to a house, or, to a palace with guards, &c. Consequently the windows of the apartments of the women, that opened outward, were in those days wont to be very small. The quality of Jezebel, and her circumstances at that time, were very particular, and will not afford any proof of what I have been now observing.

OBSERVATION XV

OF THE MATERIALS USED FOR BUILDING IN THE EAST.

THE walls of the Eastern houses are very thick, in order to shelter the inhabitants more effectually from the great heats.* They are also sometimes built of stone, and sometimes only of dried mud. Egmont and Heyman found them built of both these at Tiberias.†

The great and magnificent houses are in some places built of mud, or clay, on the outsides, of which the ingenious editor of the Ruins of Balbec gives us the following account, and of the inconveniences they occasion. "This village," says he,‡ Cara, "is pleasantly seated on a rising ground. The common mud, formed into the shape of bricks, and dried in the sun,§ of which its houses are

* Egmont and Heyman, Vol. i. p. 300. † V. ii. p. 32. ‡ P. 2.

§ So Sir J. Chardin, in the sixth volume of his MS. tells us, that the Eastern bricks are in their shape like those of Europe, and in common only dried in the sun. That they are made of clay well moistened with water and mixed with straw, which, according to their way of getting the grain out of the ear, is cut into small pieces, by a machine they make use of, instead of a flail for threshing, and which he describes very much as other authors have done. This cut straw, he also tells us, is used instead of hay for all their domestic animals, which occasions their towns and fields to be full of it. This usefulness of the straw for their cattle, and their

built, have at some distance, the appearance of white stone. The short duration of such materials is not the only objection to them; for they make the streets dusty when there is wind, and dirty when there is rain. These inconveniences are felt at Damascus, which is mostly built in the same manner." They are felt indeed! for Maundrell says, that upon a violent rain at Damascus, the whole city becomes by the washing of the houses, as it were a quagmire.*

Agreeably to this account, the Prophet supposes the quantity of the dust and mire of the streets of the Eastern cities was very great, in that passage, *Tyrus did build herself a strong hold, and heaped up silver as the dust, and fine gold as the mire of the streets.* Zech. ix. 3. The energy of this image, as I apprehended it was in the mind of the Prophet, I have no where met with pointed out with the distinctness in which the preceding quotation places it.

What is said of the colour of the houses of Cara, that they have the appearance of white stone, will account for the using the same Hebrew word לבן *leben*, to signify a *brick*, which is used to signify a *white thing;* the Eastern bricks are, often at least, naturally white.

Their buildings are frequently of stone still; Moses supposes their houses were anciently built after this manner in Canaan, Lev. xiv. 40.

The greater durableness of such edifices has not, however, prevailed on those people to build universally with them, and especially in some countries, no not where stones might be procured in plenty; so Norden describes the Egyptian and Arabian architecture as differing from

using it notwithstanding at first for their bricks, and afterward stubble, would incline one to believe the straw was not used by the Israelites in Egypt for fuel, but as part of the composition of their bricks; stubble would have always done as well for burning them; nor would the Egyptians have been so lavish of their straw.

* P. 124, 125.

the Roman, being mud and slime.* They seem to choose these materials at Damascus, for they build there after this manner, though Maundrell expressly observes they have plenty of stones in their neighbourhood. The architecture of the country of Job seems to have been of the same kind, for he speaks of adulterers digging through houses, Job xxiv. 16.

These walls of sun-burnt brick, when moistened with copious showers, must have been liable to accidents of this kind, at the same time that the thickness of them must have made the term *digging* peculiarly expressive.

Dr. Shaw has taken notice of the mouldering down of some Eastern buildings, upon a shower of rain, when he was at Tozer, p. 136, and he supposes that circumstances might illustrate what Ezekiel says of the *untempered mortar*, ch. xiii. 11. How the dissolution of bricks or tiles, by the application of wet to them, explains the not properly tempering their mortar, is not very clear; and Sir J. Chardin gives us a more distinct account of this matter, in his MS. notes, and refers to Amos vi. 11, as well as that passage in Ezekiel. I shall here set down his account.

"They are the rains which cause the walls to fall, which are built of clay, the mortar plastering dissolving. This plaster hinders the water from penetrating the bricks, but when the plastering has been soaked with wet, the wind cracks it, and occasions the rain in some succeeding shower to get between, and dissolve every thing." Dr. Shaw does not mention this plastering, which however the Prophet seems to refer to, since he complains of its not being properly tempered; whereas no Eastern unburnt bricks, however tempered, can be supposed to resist violent rains.

Sir John's account illustrates the breaches and the clefts mentioned by Amos too in a very happy manner: many great houses, as well as little ones, being built of these very fragile materials.

* P. 81. Second Part.

OBSERVATION XVI.

OF THE MORTAR USED IN BUILDING.

If the Eastern bricks are not very durable, their mortar, especially one sort of it, is extremely so,* composed according to Dr. Shaw, of one part of sand, two of wood ashes, and three of lime, well mixed together, and beaten for three days and nights incessantly with wooden mallets.†

The Doctor does not apply this observation to the illustrating any passage of Scripture; but Sir J. Chardin, in his MS. note on Mal. iv. 3, *Ye shall tread down the wicked, for they shall be ashes under the soles of your feet*, supposes the Prophet alludes there to the custom of making mortar with lime and ashes in the East, collected from their baths.‡

The people of Africa are said to use mallets, but it should seem from the Prophets, the people of the more Eastern countries *trod* their mortar in these times, Isaiah xli. 25. Nahum iii. 14. In doing this, it was by no means necessary that their feet should be naked.

Some learned men have supposed the wicked here are compared to ashes, because the Prophet had been speaking of their destruction under the notion of burning, v. 1: but the sacred writers are not wont to keep close to those figures they first proposed, this paragraph of Malachi is a proof of it: and if they had, he would not have spoken of treading on the wicked like ashes, if it had not been customary in those times to tread ashes, which, it seems, was done when they made mortar.§

* Maundrell, p. 125, speaks of mud walls, and doors adorned with marble portals, carved and inlaid with great beauty.

† P. 206. ‡ Figure prise de ceux qui font ce mortier composé de chaux de cendre corroyée de bains.

§ In a MS. note on this place, Dr. Russell proposes the following query: "Might not this allude to the *terraces*, of their floors and housetops, of which *ashes* are an ingredient?" EDIT.

OBSERVATION XVII.

OF BRICK KILNS IN THE EAST.

If their bricks, in those hot and dry countries, are in general only dried in the sun, not burnt, there is some reason to be doubtful whether the Hebrew word מלבן *malben* signifies a brick kiln, as multitudes besides our translators have supposed.

The bricks used in the construction of the Egyptian canals, must have been well burnt: those dried in the sun could have lasted no time. But bricks for this use could not have been often wanted. They were not necessary for the building those treasure cities which are mentioned Exod. i. 11. One of the pyramids is built with* sun-dried bricks, which Sir J. Chardin tells us are *durable*,† as well as accommodated to the temperature of the air there; which last circumstance is, I presume, the reason they are in such common use in these very hot countries. There must then be many places used in the East for the making bricks, where there are no kilns at all; and such a place, I apprehend, the word מלבן *malben* signifies; and it should seem to be the perpetual association of a kiln, and of the places where bricks are made, with us in the West, that has occasioned the word to be translated *brick kiln*.

The interpretation I have given best suits Jer. xliii. 9. The smoke of the brick kiln, in the neighbourhood of a royal Egyptian palace, would not have agreed very well with the Eastern cleanliness and perfumes.

* Norden, vol. i. p. 129.

† This pyramid of brick is supposed to be that mentioned by Herodotus as built by Cheops, and therefore very ancient: an evident proof of the great durableness of bricks of that kind in Egypt. Norden, p. 132.

OBSERVATION XVIII.

METHOD OF FASTENING THE PINS AND NAILS IN THE MUD AND BRICK WALLS.

THE pins, or nails, that are fastened up in these Eastern houses are fixed very securely, according to the MS. C; a circumstance that it should seem was attended to anciently, Isai. xxii. 23, *I will fasten him as a nail in a sure place.*

The account the MS. gives is this: "They do not drive with a hammer the nails that are put into the Eastern walls; the walls are too hard, being of brick, or if they are of clay, they are too mouldering; but they fix them in the brick work as they are building. They are large nails, with square heads like dice, well made, the ends bent so as to make them cramp irons. They commonly place them at the windows and doors, in order to hang upon them, when they like, veils and curtains."*

The nails the Prophet refers to were for another purpose; however, the people of these countries are very careful to fasten them very securely in their buildings.

OBSERVATION XIX.

METHODS OF ADORNING THEIR HOUSES IN THE EAST.

WHEN our travellers express their surprise at the contrast between the outside and inside appearance of the Eastern palaces, and, in order to convey the same to their readers, give a particular account of the magnificence within, they do it by speaking of their water works, their Mosaic pavements, the incrustation of their walls with the

* "Pins and nails, says Dr. Russell, MS. note, are seldom used for hanging clothes, &c. upon, which are usually laid one over the other on a chest or particular kind of chair." EDIT.

most exquisite marbles, their carved wainscottings of wood heightened with painting and gilding, cornices filled with porcelain, and gold and silver toys, &c.* but not one word of *ivory*, used either about the house, or by way of furniture.

The Romans, on the other hand, ornamented their houses anciently with ivory, as well as made use of it in their household stuff.

Non *Ebur* neque aureum
Meâ renidet in domo lacunar :
Non trabes Hymettiæ
Premunt columnas ultimâ recisas
Africa : &c.

Neither *ivory* nor a gilded ceiling shine in my house: nor do beams from Hymettus rest upon columns cut in the furthest part of Africa,

says Horace. Od. lib. 2, Od. xviii. v. 1—5. Prose writers speak of the same; and the critics, to illustrate those passages of the Prophets which speak of ivory houses, have produced citations of this kind from them.

There is some resemblance to be found between the old Roman and Eastern way of adorning their apartments. The ceilings at Aleppo, according to Russell, are of wood, neatly painted, and sometimes gilded: this gilding explains the *aureum lacunar* of Horace. But it seems that the old Romans thought, that the beauty of gold appeared with the greatest advantage when mingled with ivory, or something of that sort;† and therefore, their ceilings were not only gilded like the Aleppine, but inlaid with ivory.‡ The Eastern people might possibly use ivory formerly in their buildings, as the Romans afterward did, though it is no part of their present luxury; their customs are not in-

* See Russell, Maillet Let. 11, Egmont and Heyman, vol. ii. p. 253, 254.

† Vide Virg. Georg. l. 2. v. 191—193.

‡ ———————— Quale per artem
Inclusum Buxo, aut Oricia Terebintho
Lucet Ebur. Æn. 10. v. 135—137.

In a MS. note on this place, Dr. Russell says : "*Ivory* is likewise employed at Aleppo, in the decoration of some of the more expensive apartments. I do not recollect it in ceilings, but in cupboard doors, pannels," &c. See the note on page 314. EDIT.

variable, though they are very lasting. However, I have sometimes thought, that as the ancients were not very nice in distinguishing things, it is very possible that the sumptuousness of the old Eastern buildings might not at all differ, in this respect, from that of the modern; and I have been doubtful whether they did not mean houses built of polished marble, which is white and shining like ivory, by the *ivory houses* mentioned, Ps. xlv. 8, 1 Kings xxii. 39, Amos iii. 15. They would not, it is certain, have been less exact in doing so, than the Romans in calling a lion a bear, and the panther a *rat of Africa*.*

The Jews of after times made use of marble, and affected that which was white, when they designed to give the highest magnificence to their buildings. Thus Josephus expressly mentions† the whiteness of the stone made use of by Simon the high priest, when he erected a most sumptuous monument for the Maccabees; and of that used by Herod the Great in the splendid buildings of Cesarea; and the polishing of both.

Dr. Shaw tells us‡ the Grecian artists did not begin to use marble, either in sculpture or building, till the year 720 before CHRIST. The Jews might very well take up the use of it two or three hundred years sooner, which is about the time we first meet with the mention of ivory houses, and ivory palaces in the Scriptures. If the remains of some of the Egyptian structures are of that remote antiquity they are imagined to be, that people must have used marble long before the Jews, so far as we know their affairs, as well as long before the Greeks; and indeed it is probable that the Jews and Tyrians borrowed the use of it from the Egyptians, as Vitruvius tells us the Romans did the art of incrustating buildings with it. But it is however to be remembered, that the marble of the most ancient Egyptian structures, and particularly of the pyramids, is not polished, according to Norden;§ the art

* See Shaw's Trav. p. 172.

† Antiq. Jud. Lib. 13, c. 6. and Lib. 15. c. 6. ‡ P. 368. note.

§ Vol. i. p. 193.

of polishing marble not being then, he supposes, known among them. He has not any where, that I remember, attempted to show when they began to polish their marbles; it might then possibly not be long before the time of those *ivory houses* of which the Scriptures speak, and from the resemblance of this polished marble to ivory, it might be called by the same name. But this is mere conjecture.*

OBSERVATION XX.

OF THEIR PAVEMENTS, CEILINGS, &c.

That the use of polished marble, however, was not so early, in Egypt itself, as the days of Moses, we may gather,

*And this, which at best was but mere conjecture, has been since weakened by the Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montague, which assure us, that she found *ivory* made use of in fitting up the harem of the Kahya's palace at Adrianople. Its winter apartments being wainscotted with inlaid work of mother of pearl, ivory of different colours, and olive wood, like the little boxes brought from that country. Vol. ii. p. 161, 162, edit. 3d. I never met with this circumstance before in books of travels into the Levant, but as this fact cannot now be questioned, so, without doubt, it is not singular: other harems, it must be imagined, are adorned in the same manner. Hasselquist also mentions wainscotting inlaid with crosses, and other ornaments of ivory, in an Egyptian chapel, p. 62.

The choosing olive, out of every other kind of wood, for the adorning these sumptuous apartments, shows the elegance and grandeur of the taste in which Solomon's temple was built, where the doors of the Oracle, and some other parts, were of olive wood.* Had her Ladyship visited the harems of some of the princes of Arabia Felix, perhaps she might have made observations, which might have explained the almug or algum trees of Arabia, of which Solomon made pillars for the house of the LORD, and for his own house: an inquiry recommended to the Danish Academicians.

The Ambassadress mentions olive wood, and mother of pearl, in another place, vol. iii. p. 51. as also incrustations of Japan china.

Sir John Chardin's MS. agrees with Lady Montague's account. For after observing the Chaldee paraphrase on Amos iii. 15, explains the ivory houses of houses paved with ivory; he adds, the ceilings of the Eastern houses are of Mosaic work, and for the most part of ivory, like those superb Talaar of Persia, which so well merit a description. And in another place he observes, that by the beds of ivory we must understand those elevations, *estrades* is the French word he makes use of, which are in use in the Indies, in Turkey, in Persia, among the great only, on which they eat, and on which they lie.

* Olive wood says Dr. Russell, MS. note, is *common* in this country. EDIT.

I think, satisfactorily enough from a circumstance mentioned in the writings of that Prophet: for when he would describe with grandeur the appearance of GOD to the elders of Israel, Exod. xxiv. 10, he speaks of his having something like *brick work*, for so the original words, כמעשה לבנת *kemasâh libnath* signify, of a sapphire colour under his feet, but transparent as the body of Heaven.

Had polished marble been used for pavements then, as it was afterward, we may believe that Moses would have referred to them, rather than to a pavement of brick work, since he is evidently endeavouring to describe the Divine appearance as august; pavements then of that sort were not in use at that time in Egypt, we may conclude, and consequently the polishing of marble not invented; since when polished, it was, for aught we know, applied to pavements as soon as to any thing else, and if not, if thought too noble a thing to be trampled on, might yet have served Moses to compare the pavement to under the feet of the Divine apparition, if he had had any notion at all of these polished stones.

The expression, *there was something like brick work under his feet*, seems to point to that sort of pavement which is formed of painted tiles, or bricks, and is common at this day in the East, according to Dr. Shaw.* They are the same, I suppose, as those painted tiles, with which he tells us they are wont frequently to adorn part of their walls by incrustating it with these tiles, if I may so debase that term. The Doctor does not particularly describe them, but it appears from other writers that they are frequently blue. So le Bruyn tells us† the mosque at Jerusalem, which the Turks call the temple of Solomon, is almost all covered over with green and blue bricks, which are glazed, so that when the sun shines, the eye is perfectly dazzled. Some of these bricks or tiles, my reader will observe, are *blue*, the colour Moses mentions; but bricks and tiles are not transparent: to de-

* P. 209.

† Tom. 2. p. 238, 239.

scribe then the pavement under the feet of the God of Israel with due majesty, Moses represents it as like the floors of painted tile he had seen, but transparent however as the body of Heaven.

Had Moses known any thing of marble pavements, it is natural to suppose, he would rather have compared what was seen in this august vision to them, than to a floor of painted tile, though such an one is not without its beauty;* which ought to be remarked, to prevent our receiving impressions of too debasing a kind from Moses's mentioning brick work under the feet of God: our imaginations might otherwise have been led to the poor pavements of brick in our cottages; whereas Moses seems, on the contrary, to have thought of the most splendid floors Egypt then knew.

Dr. Shaw, after having said that the floors in the Levant are laid with painted tiles, or plaster of terrace, informs us in a note,† that a pavement like this is mentioned Esther i 6, 7 *The beds were of gold and silver, upon a pavement of red and blue and white and black marble.* But this is not the happiest of the Doctor's illustrations, since floors of different coloured marble are common now in the East;‡ since this of Ahasuerus is generally supposed to have been of that kind; since there is a great difference in point of magnificence between a pavement of marble and one of painted tiles, and consequently the palace of so mighty a monarch as Ahasuerus rather to be supposed to be paved with marble; and since the Jewish historian is giving an account of the pavement of a court yard, not of a room.

It deserves a remark, that the Eastern floors and ceilings are just the reverse of ours. Their ceilings are of wood, ours of plaster, or stucco work; their floors are

* Thevenot calls them pure tiles, like china, p. 26. part 1. †P. 209.

‡ So Dr. Russell tells us, they pave their courts at Aleppo with marble, and oftentimes with a mixture of yellow and white, red and black, by way of ornament, p. 18.

of plaster or of painted tiles, ours of wood.* This effectually detects a mistake of Kimchi and R. Solomon, who, according to Buxtorf,† supposed the floor of the porch of judgment which Solomon built was all of cedar; whereas the sacred writer, 1 Kings vii. 7, undoubtedly meant its covering a top, its ceiling, was of cedar. Indeed here in the West, where these Jewish Rabbies lived, such places are usually built after the Eastern mode, which makes their mistake so much the more strange. Westminster hall is, I think, paved with stone and ceiled with wood; and such without doubt was the ceiling and the pavement of the porch for judgment which Solomon built, and which was erected in a much hotter climate.‡

OBSERVATION XXI.

DIFFERENT KINDS OF HANGINGS USED IN THE EAST.

Dr. Shaw refers to this passage of Esther, in the same page, on another account, and, it should seem, with like success. He says, the Eastern chambers, in houses of better fashion, are covered and adorned, from the middle of the wall downward, *with velvet* or *damask hangings, of white, blue, red, green, or other colours*, Esther i. 6, *suspended* upon hooks, *or taken down at pleasure.*§

* This is not an universal case; for Dr. Russell observes, MS. note, that "the floors at Aleppo are very often of wood." Edit.

† Epit. Rad. Heb. p. 780.

‡ Dr Russell, in a MS. note, observes, "that stone floors would be very inconvenient in the East in winter, if not *covered*, as in Palestine; their shoes are not so thick as those in England; and in ancient times they probably did not enter with their shoes on. At Aleppo, he says, the stone or terrace floors are generally covered in the winter." Edit.

§ "At Aleppo *hangings* are never employed except in the winter on some occasions, to cover the side of a room when the windows are too much exposed to the cold winds. The *hangings* meant in Esther, I should imagine, were not the *hangings* above, but *curtains*, dividing the court of the garden into different booths; for the guests entertained were of all sorts; and within doors would have been in separate rooms." Ibid. Edit.

Here again this ingenious author seems to have been less exact, and should rather, I imagine, have referred to this passage, when he told us that the courts or quadrangles of their houses, when a large company is to be received into them, are commonly sheltered from the heat and inclemency of the weather by a vellum, umbrella, or veil, which being expanded upon ropes from one side of the parapet wall to the other, may be folded, or unfolded at pleasure.* For though there are some things in that passage of the book of Esther that cannot be determined without difficulty, yet it is extremely plain that the company were entertained in a court of the palace of Ahasuerus, which agrees with Dr. Shaw's account, that when much company are to be admitted into an house, the court is the place of their reception; now though their *chambers* are hung with velvet or damask hangings, it does not appear that on such occasions their *courts* are thus adorned, but there is a veil stretched out over head to shelter them from the inclemency of the weather. And indeed to something of this sort it is commonly supposed these words refer, though none has given a better illustration of this piece of ancient history than Dr. Shaw has undesignedly done, in this account of their receiving company, when the number is large, in these courts, and covering them with veils expanded on ropes.

OBSERVATION XXII.

ACCOUNT OF BELSHAZZAR'S FEAST, AND THE PLACE IN THE ROYAL APARTMENTS WHERE PROBABLY HELD.

Answerably to this way of treating a large company in the court of a building, we are naturally led to suppose the feast made by Belshazzar to a thousand of his lords, when he drank wine before the thousand,† was held in a quadrangle of his palace; which possibly may help to

* P. 208. † Dan. v. 1, &c.

explain some passages of this transaction better than has hitherto been done.

Sir J. Chardin has a note in his MS. on this passage, but these memorandums have not thoroughly cleared up this affair.

The substance of them is this: that two things ought to be remarked here, the one, that our painters err, when in painting this history they draw a silver sconce with a wax candle in it, such as formerly were placed in great houses, as appears by the Septuagint, who make use of a term which signifies a lamp, or torch; nor ordinarily are candles made use of in the East. The other, that by the word candlestick is not to be understood an utensil for the reception of a candle, but of a quantity of tallow, according to the usages of the East. Further, over against the candlestick, is not to be understood to mean near the candlestick, but opposite to the candlestick, where its light was principally directed. A sconce would ill agree with the Oriental manner of sitting on the ground. He after these things sums up all with saying, Three things then are to be taken notice of here: First, in what part of the house the writing appeared; secondly, the nature of the candlestick; and lastly, the place of the writing with respect to the candlestick, or range of candlesticks. This is the sum of what this gentleman has remarked upon this head.

Perhaps the illustration may advance a little nearer completeness, if we add the following particulars: in the first place, that most probably this feast was held in some open court of the palace. The present customs of the East;* the number of the people at this entertainment; and the place where another king of Persia held a solemn feast;† all concur to establish this sentiment.

Secondly, That the candlestick of course may be imagined to be some very large utensil, with one or more very large lamps, sufficient to illuminate this area in a

* See Shaw, p. 208. † Esther i. 5.

splendid and royal manner.* It appears by the term made use of, that there was but one candlestick. One candlestick, however, we know might have several lamps, since that made for the tabernacle of Moses had seven:† Belshazzar's might have more. When Mr. Hanway was treated in Persia one evening, by a person of some distinction, he tells us,‡ there stood in the court yard a large lamp, supplied with tallow; and in the middle of the room, on the floor, was a wax candle: if one large tallow lamp sufficed for the court yard of a person of some distinction, a very large candlestick, with many such lamps, might do very well for this court of the palace of Belshazzar.

Thirdly, *Overagainst the candlestick on the plaster of the wall of the King's palace* may very naturally be explained, of the wall of that side of the quadrangle opposite to where Belshazzar sat. This was the proper place for the appearance of the writing to catch the eye of the King; and the Chaldee word may extremely well be so interpreted. This consideration may ease some difficulties that otherwise would occur: for if we were to understand it of a room in the palace, where should we suppose the *plastering of the wall* was? Their ceilings are now wont to be of wainscot artfully painted, or thrown into a variety of pannels, with gilded mouldings and scrolls of writing.§ The lower half of the side walls are covered and adorned with velvet and damask hangings, according to Dr. Shaw;¶ and the upper part embellished with most ingenious devices in stucco and fretwork, according to

* Dr. Russell observes, MS. note, "There does not appear to be any necessity for this supposition. It might have been one of the large tall candlesticks, such as are now used, and serve to hold a large wax candle as long as a torch. Why suppose the whole area illuminated by one light?" EDIT.

† Exod. xxv. 37, ch. xxxvii. 23. See also Zech. iv. 2.

‡ Vol. i. p. 223. § Shaw's Travels, p. 209. Russell, p. 2.

¶ But Dr. Russell, MS. note, says, "This is by no means common in Syria." EDIT.

him. And at Aleppo, according to Dr. Russell's description, and his drawings, with pannels of wainscot, and paintings or carvings of flowers, leaves, and inscriptions. Where then shall we suppose the fatal writing appeared? where the plastering on the wall? The enclosing themselves in cedar, the ceiling with precious wood, and the painting in an ornamental way, were things used before the time of Belshazzar, and in the palaces of princes whose dominions were by no means equal to his in extent or riches, Jer. xxii. 14, 15. But if we suppose the writing on the external surface of one side of the quadrangle, that side opposite to the candlestick, and to where the king sat, it is very easy to explain its being on the plastering of the wall. Babylon was not a country for stone, bricks were used there as a succedaneum, Gen. xi. 3; and Sir J. Chardin in his MSS. describes brickwork as often plastered over.

Fourthly, As Babylon was surprised on a festival night, it might be that called *sedeh* or *sedouk*, of which d'Herbelot gives us an amusing but short description, which agrees very well with the preceding explanation: in that festival the Persians kept great fires during the night, about which they feasted, and danced, it being one of the most solemn which they had: the Arabs call it *leilat al voucoud*.*

OBSERVATION XXIII.

VINES PLANTED EVEN IN THE INSIDE OF THEIR HOUSES.

These quadrangles or courts are paved, Shaw says, with marble, or such sort of materials as will carry off the rain. Russell's account of the houses of Aleppo agrees with this, and upon this occasion it is, that he takes notice of their making the pavements of their best

* Bibliotheque Orientale, l'Art. Fars. The Persians indeed were the besiegers; but might not this festival be common to them and the Babylonians? or adopted by the Persians after this conquest?

buildings of a yellow marble, which takes a tolerable p ish, and with which they often intermix a red, white, a coarse black marble, by way of ornament. But what would here remark is, that there is very commonly a fountain in the middle of the court, and a kind of little garden about it, which in that climate must be peculiarly pleasant. Whether this is at all explanatory of king Ahasuerus's making a feast in the court of the garden of his palace, I do not know; but the mention both of the pavement and of the garden, leads us to think of that passage

Dr. Russell says too, that they have sometimes a tall cypress tree planted in the inner court of their houses; but neither he, nor any other traveller, that I recollect, speaks of the conducting vines along the sides of their houses; that, however common it may be among us, does not appear to be an Eastern custom, or to make any part of the verdure with which they set off their courts.

I doubt therefore a late very ingenious and learned, as well as a lively, writer was mistaken, in supposing the occasion of our LORD's comparing himself to a vine might be his standing "near a window, or in some court by the side of the house, where the sight of a vine might suggest this beautiful simile;" to which, after referring to Ps. cxxviii. 3, he adds, "that circumstance was, no doubt, common in Judea, which abounded with the finest grapes:"* and I am apprehensive that this is an additional proof of the necessity of attending to the customs of the East, when we would explain the Scriptures.†

* Dodd. Fam. Exp. vol. ii. 8vo. p. 445, note b.

† The whole of this critique upon Doddridge is set aside by the following note from Dr. Russell: "It is very common to *cover the stairs* leading to the upper apartments of the *harem* with *vines*. And they have often a *lattice work* of wood raised against the dead walls, for a vine or other shrub to crawl upon" This note I consider invaluable, as it fully explains the beautiful metaphor in Psalm cxxviii. with which Mr. Harmer is so unnecessarily hampered in the following page. EDIT.

The Jewish nation would not have admitted this illustration, had this management been common in other parts of that country; for, according to their writers, Jerusalem was distinguished from all the other towns of Judea, as by several other peculiarities, so in particular by its having no gardens, or any trees planted in it, excepting some rose-bushes, which it seems had been from the days of the ancient Prophets;* consequently there could be no vine, in their opinion, about the sides of the house in which our LORD was when he spoke these words.

But the cxxviiith Psalm is no proof, I apprehend, that it was practised any where else in that country, though it has been thus understood by other writers besides this author; and, among the rest, by no less considerable persons than Cocceius, Hammond, Patrick, and Kimchi the Jewish rabbi. For as it is visible that the good man's sons *being like olive plants round about his table*, means not that they should be like the olive plants which grew round his table, it being, I presume, a thought in Bishop Patrick that will not be defended, that the Psalmist refers to a table spread in an arbour composed of young olive trees, for we find no such arbours in the Levant, nor is the tree very proper for such a purpose; so in like manner the first clause may signify, thy wife shall be in the sides, or private apartments, of thy house, fruitful as a thriving vine: the place here mentioned, the sides of the house, referring to the wife, not to the vine; as the other, the table, refers to the children, not to the olives. Nor is this a new thought, it is a remark that Musculus and other interpreters have made.†

The Hebrew word, ירכתי, *yarketee*, translated *sides*, is very well known to signify the more private *apartments* of a house, as they have also remarked; and he that reads Dr. Shaw's description of an Eastern house, must immediately see the propriety of calling the private apartments its *sides*. Such a house consists of a square court, which,

* Lightfoot, vol. ii. p. 21. † Vide Poli Syn. in loc.

the Doctor observes, is called the midst of the house; and private apartments round it, which may as properly be called its sides in consequence: into this middle of the house, or this quadrangle, company, he tells us, are sometimes received, rarely or never into any of the chambers, in which other authors tell us their wives remain concealed at such times.

And from hence, it seems, places of privacy and concealment in general came to be called *sides;* the more obscure holes of the cave where David and his men were hid, when Saul entered it, were called its *sides*, as we find, 1 Sam. xxiv. 3; and that country that had been little known and visited, from whence a nation was to come against Jerusalem, is called, in the predictions of Jeremiah, the *sides of the earth;* Jer. vi 22.

I will only further add under this Observation, that David Kimchi, the famous rabbi, is more unhappy* than our Christian commentators in his explanation of this Psalm: for he tells us, a wife is compared to a vine, because *that alone of all trees* can be planted in a house; whereas, according to Russell,† they are tall cypresses that are usually planted in their court yards, if they plant any trees at all. But Kimchi was a Frenchman or a Spaniard, as were several of their most celebrated doctors, whose writings therefore, to make a remark upon them once for all, are much less useful for the explanation of books in which there are perpetual references to Eastern customs, than otherwise they probably would have been.‡

* In eadem Syn. † Vol. i. p. 17, 33, 51.

‡ Kimchi is perfectly correct; and it is by his exposition alone that the true sense of that most elegant and expressive metaphor can be found out. Dr. Russell has proved this fully by showing that *vines* are actually planted *in* the houses, and cover the stairs leading to the upper apartments of the harem; and he observes further, in confirmation of what Kimchi has said, *the vine alone of all trees can be planted in an house.* "That this is generally true, if fruit-bearing trees be intended, as the vine is almost the only fruit tree which is planted in the houses; pomegranates are another." Nor does

OBSERVATION XXIV

OF THE ALCOVES OR DIVANS USED IN THEIR BUILDINGS.

Dr. Russell does not represent the pavement of the courts as all Mosaic work, and equally adorned, but he tells us, that it is usually that part that lies between the fountain and the arched alcove on the south side, that is thus beautified, supposing that there is but one alcove in a court; however, it should seem in some other parts of the East there are several of these alcoves opening into the court. Maundrell, who calls them *duans*, in his account of the houses of Damascus, says expressly, that they have generally several on all sides of the court, "being placed at such different points, that at one or other of them, you may always have either the shade, or the sun, which you please."*

Are not these alcoves or duans, of which, according to this, there might be several in the court of the palace of Ahasuerus, what the sacred writer means by the beds adorned with silver and gold? Esth. i. 6. I shall elsewhere show, that the bed where Esther was sitting, and on which Haman threw himself, Esth. vii. 8, must more resemble the modern Oriental duans, or divans, than the beds on which the Romans reclined at their entertainments; and consequently it is most natural to understand those beds of these alcoves, or duans, richly adorned with gold and silver, while on the lower variegated pavement carpets were also laid, for the reception of those

Mr. Harmer's criticism on the word יָרֵךְ *yarek*, either convince or satisfy me: I know not one place in the Hebrew Bible where it can be fairly interpreted *inner apartment*; it means simply a *side*, or any thing that may be denominated *lateral length*: hence it signifies the *thigh* or *thigh-bone* of a man, and is used Exod. xxv 31, for the *long shaft* or central *stem* of the golden candlestick. Edit.

* P. 125.

that could not find a place in these duans; on which pavements Dr. Shaw tells us, they are wont, in Barbary, when much company is to be entertained, to strew mats and carpets.*

OBSERVATION XXV

BIRDS MAKE THEIR NESTS ON THE CAPITALS OF PILLARS IN FORSAKEN TEMPLES, PALACES, &c.

THE prophet Zephaniah gives us to understand three things, by one short passage in his book of sacred predictions: the 1st. that the pillars of his time were wont to have *capitals;* 2d. that when the buildings to which they belonged were reduced to desolation, *birds* not unfrequently took possession of these capitals; and 3d. that those capitals he was acquainted with resembled a *pomegranate.*

The passage I refer to is in the 2d. chap. the 14th. verse. *The flocks shall lie down in the midst of her, all the beasts of the nations; both the cormorant and the bittern shall lodge in the upper lintels of it;* or, according to the marginal reading, the "knops or chapiters."

The word כפתרי, translated upper lintels, and knops or chapiters, signifies pomegranates, and shows what the shape of the capitals of pillars were with which Zephaniah was acquainted. Some of the very ancient Egyptian and Persian capitals, that remain to this time, are of very odd and fantastic shapes; the Jewish style of architecture seems to have been of a chaster and more simple nature in this point. The capitals of the two pillars in the porch

* P. 208. "The alcove, by way of eminence," says Dr. Russell, MS. note, "is called the *duan*, and there is but one such in the courts at Aleppo, but there are several moveable frames, or stone *mustabes*, on which *duans* are made occasionally, as well as beds." The Arabic word ديوان *deewan*, signifies a council, court, assembly, collection, &c. and by a metonymy, the *place* where such council or court assembles. Hence the application of the term to alcoves, or bowers in gardens. EDIT.

of the Temple were, probably, of the shape of a pomegranate.

As to the other circumstances, birds lodging on the capitals of forsaken temples and palaces, I would set down a remark of Sir John Chardin here, who, describing the magnificent pillars that he found at Persepolis, tells us, "The storks, birds respected by the Persians, make their nests on the top of those columns, with great boldness, and in no danger of being dispossessed."*

What the two Hebrew words קאת and קפד precisely signify, which we translate the *cormorant* and the *bittern*, is not agreed upon among the learned; probably neither of them means the *stork*, which was found at Persepolis to have taken up its abode in such places; other birds may have a like turn; but it must make a reader smile, that attends to the circumstance mentioned by Zephaniah,† to find the venerable Bishops, of Queen Elizabeth's time, translating the second of these two words *otters*, in Is. xiv. 23; which they render *storks* in Is. xxxiv 11; and *owls* in Zephaniah ii. 14. How unhappy that a word that occurs but three times in the Hebrew Bible, should be translated by three different words, and that one of them should be *otters!* This is, however, as plausible a way of rendering this word, as theirs who translate it *hedgehog*.

This the learned Dr. Shaw has done,‡ on the account of the resemblance between the Arabic word قنفذ *kunfudh*, which signifies *hedgehog*, and the Hebrew word קפוד *kephod*, which was what probably induced the Septuagint to translate it after this manner. Had the Doctor

* Tome iii. p. 108.

† Of taking up their abode on the tops of pillars.

‡ "The near analogy also betwixt *kunfudh*, the Arabic name of the hedgehog, which is here very common, and the Hebrew קפד *kephode*, Is. xxxiv. 11, &c. should induce us to take it for that quadruped, according to the LXX ἐχῖνος, rather than for the bittern, as we translate it." P. 176.

recollected that Zephaniah describes them as choosing their abode on the *top* of pillars, he might have been of a different opinion, as though a likeness in a modern name to one of the ancient times deserves consideration, it is not equally decisive with characters of description derived from natural history.*

But though it appears to mean a *bird*, it does not follow that the Prophet intended a *bittern*.

OBSERVATION XXVI.

DIFFERENT CIRCUMSTANCES IN THE RUIN OF BABYLON AND NINEVEH.

Most people that read the succeeding clause of that passage of Zephaniah, which I cited under the last Observation, have been ready, I apprehend, to understand the next words as expressive of the melancholy interruption of the silence that at other times reigns in desolated cities, by the doleful noises made by wild creatures, that resort thither; *Their voice*, or rather a voice, *shall sing in the windows;* but a passage in le Bruyn's description of Persepolis makes this doubtful.

"I found also," says this traveller, in this place, "besides the birds I have already mentioned,† four or five sorts of small birds, who keep constantly in these ruins and the adjoining mountain, and who make the most agreeable warbling in the world. The singing of the largest approaches very near to that of the nightingale. Some

* To Mr. Harmer's argument here, Mr. Parkhurst objects thus: "Had Mr. H. recollected that Zephaniah says nothing about the *top of pillars*, but that the קפד lodged in the *door porches*, בכפתריה *becaptoriah*, which we are at liberty to suppose were *thrown down*, perhaps he would have acceded to the Doctor's opinion." See Parkhurst Lex. article קפד Edit.

† "Cranes, storks, ducks, and herons of various sorts; partridges, snipes, quails, pigeons, sparrowhawks, and, above all crows, with which all Persia is filled." Tome iv. p. 302.

of them are almost all black; others have the head and body spotted, of the size of a swallow; others are smaller and of different colours, yellowish, grey, and quite white, shaped like a chaffinch."*

Babylon and Nineveh were both to be made desolate, but their circumstances might be, and, according to the predictions of the Prophets, actually were to be very different. *Babylon was never to be inhabited, no Arabian was to pitch his tent there, nor shepherds make their fold there, but wild beasts of the desert were to lie there, and their houses to be filled with doleful creatures*, Is. xiii. 20, 21. *But flocks were to lie down in Nineveh, and the beasts of the neighbouring people, and the voice of singing be heard from the windows, or holes of its ruinated palaces*, Zeph. ii. 14.

These are different, and in some respects, opposite descriptions: Eastern flocks suppose songs and instruments of music would be heard in Nineveh; while no shepherd should ever appear in the ruins of Babylon. In like manner, instead of the doleful creatures of the last, warbling of birds might be intended, in Zephaniah's account of Nineveh, equally pleasing with what le Bruyn heard at Persepolis. The imagination finds a fine contrast between the inartificial songs and music of shepherds, mingled with the wild notes of singing birds; and the luxurious concerts† of Nineveh: as well as between the awful silence, interrupted by the howlings of doleful and savage creatures of ruinated Babylon; and the melody of former times there. Though less gloomy, and overwhelming to the mind, would the ruins of Nineveh in that case appear to a traveller, than those of Babylon.

* P 360.

† In both Nineveh and Babylon, without doubt, as well as in Jerusalem, the harp and the viol, the tabret and the pipe, and wine, were in their frequent feasts; but they regarded not the work of the LORD, nor the operation of his hands, Is. v. 12.

OBSERVATION XXVII.

USES TO WHICH ANCIENT RUINS ARE CONVERTED IN THE EAST.

The Scriptures, in describing the ruined state into which some celebrated cities were to be reduced, represent them, not unfrequently,* as to be so desolated, that no shepherds with flocks should haunt them, which supposes they were to be found on the remains of others.

This is a proper representation of complete destruction. For, in the East, it is common for shepherds to make use of remaining ruins, to shelter their flocks from the heat of the middle of the day, and from the dangers of the night.

So Dr. Chandler, after mentioning the exquisite remains of a temple of Apollo, in Asia Minor, which were such as that it was impossible perhaps to conceive greater beauty and majesty of ruin, goes on,† "At evening a large flock of goats, returning to the fold, their bells tinkling, spread over the heap, climbing to browse on the shrubs and trees growing between the huge stones."

Another passage of the same writer shows, that they make use of ruins also to guard their flocks from the noontide heat. Speaking of Aiasaluck, generally understood to be the ancient Ephesus, and certainly near the site of that old city, and at least its successor, he says,‡ "A herd of goats was driven to it for shelter from the sun at noon; and a noisy flight of crows from the quarries seemed to insult its silence. We heard the partridge call in the area of the theatre and of the stadium. The glorious pomp of its heathen worship is no longer remembered: and Christianity, which was there nursed by apostles, and fostered by general councils, until it increased to fulness of stature, barely lingers on in an existence hardly visible."

* See Is. xiii. 20, Jer. xlix. 18, &c. † Travels, p. 151

‡ P. 130, 131.

This description is very gloomy and melancholy; however, the usefulness of these ruins is such, for the habitation of those that tend flocks, that it often prevents a place being quite desolate, and continues it among inhabited places, though miserably ruinated. Such is the state of Ephesus: it is described by Chandler, as making a very gloomy and melancholy appearance, but as not absolutely without people. "Our horses," says he,* "were disposed among the walls and rubbish, with their saddles on; and a mat was spread for us on the ground. We sate here, in the open air, while supper was preparing; when suddenly, fires began to blaze up among the bushes, and we saw the villagers collected about them in savage groups, or passing to and fro with lighted brands for torches. The flames, with the stars and a pale moon, afforded us a dim prospect of ruin and desolation.† A shrill owl, called Cucuvaia from its note, with a nighthawk, flitted near us; and a jackal cried mournfully, as if forsaken by his companions, on the mountain."‡

* P. 115.

† This description may be placed after Zeph. ii. 7, as a most lively comment on that passage of the prophet, *And the coast shall be for the remnant of the house of Judah, they shall feed thereupon, in the houses of Ashkelon shall they lie down in the evening: for the Lord their God shall visit them, and turn away their captivity.* But the account that follows there, of the animals they found in those ruins, the Cucuvaian owl, the nighthawk, and the jackal, may not with precision answer the Hebrew words of the 14th verse, translated the *cormorant* and the *bittern* in our version, and that translated by the Bishop of Waterford the *raven*, instead of desolation.

‡ Utter desolation and ruin in the palaces of the great, together with the vanity and transitory nature of worldly grandeur and eminence, were never more forcibly depicted than in the following inimitable couplet of the Persian poet, Sâdy

پرده داری میکند در قصر قیصر عنکبوت
بومی نوبت میزند در کنگره افراسیاب

"The *Spider* holds the vail, acts as chamberlain, in the palace of Cesar;
"The *Owl* relieves guard, or stands centinel, on the watch towers of Afrasiab."

What a lesson of Moderation and humility to the conquerors of kingdoms, and the troublers of the quiet of the universe, would they lay it to

Those places spoken of by the Prophets might have been inhabited, though terribly ruinated, as Aiasaluck is now by a few poor shepherds, and the ruins might have afforded the poor people there a miserable habitation; but the spirit of prophecy speaks of the destruction of some cities as more thoroughly complete: even shepherds were not to make use of their ruins, but entire desolation take place.

And though wild Arabs, as well as other shepherds, might sometimes find a comfortable retreat under the ruins, yet at other times they might want a tent, for Dr. Chandler slept, it seems, in the open air, which shows a want of such arched remains as might have sheltered him in the ruins of Ephesus. Not to say that the Arabs, who commonly live in tents, might choose oftentimes to erect them, when they might in a different manner have covered themselves from the injuries of the night air. This will account for what is said, Is. xiii. 20, *It shall never be inhabited, neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation: neither shall the Arabian pitch tent there, neither shall the shepherds make their fold there.*

OBSERVATION XXVIII.

OF THEIR GROTTOES AND CAVES.

A GROTTO or cave must be imagined to be to them that live in tents the most convenient stable they could have; nor would it be a despicable advantage to them that live in more fixed habitations: there is nothing then improbable in the tradition, that our LORD, who was con-

heart: but vain is all such moralizing, seeing "Advice is only made for those who *choose* to take it." Afrasiab was an ancient king, who invaded and conquered Persia about 700 years before the Christian era. After having reigned twelve years, he was defeated and slain by Zalzar and his son, the famous Rustam, hero of the Shah Nameh. The present royal family of Constantinople claim descent from this ancient monarch. EDIT

fessedly born in a *stable*, was born in a *grotto* in or very near the city of Bethlehem.

The celebrated Reland, in his account of Bethlehem,* takes notice of a remark of Mr. Maundrell,† that many of the sacred places, which are shown to pilgrims in the Holy Land, are subterraneous, so that almost all the facts that are recorded in the sacred history must have happened in grottoes. Among others, a grotto is shown as the place of our LORD's nativity in Bethlehem. With respect to this, Reland takes some pains to show, that this was supposed before the era at which Maundrell imagined that great veneration for grottoes took place, which was after the time that hermits were wont to choose them for their dwelling places, who became so highly esteemed in the church. He shows in particular, that Origen, who lived a considerable time before these hermits, yet writing against Celsus remarked, that the *cave* in which our LORD was born was shown in his time. This he mentions, that it might not be thought to be an invention of aftertimes.

Maundrell certainly made such a remark, upon occasion of his visiting Mount Tabor. This perpetual pointing out grottoes, he thought, in some cases, very improbable, the condition and the circumstances of the actions themselves seeming to require places of another nature. Among these he mentions the places of the Baptist's and our LORD's nativity, and where St. Anne was delivered of the blessed Virgin; but whether all these were among the things that, according to his views, could not probably have happened in subterraneous places, is not certain; and if he thought, as to two of them, it was improbable, it does not follow he thought so as to the place of our LORD's birth. The truth seems to be, that he was struck with the improbability of some of these traditions, and then mentioning particulars, as to things said to happen in caves of the

* Palæstina, p. 616 † See his Journey, p. 114, ed. 5.

earth, he did not stop nicely to weigh the probability or improbability of every thing he mentioned.

As to the place in which our LORD was born, it was supposed to have been in a cave in the time of Origen, long before the hermits obtained such veneration; to which I would add, that his being born in a *stable*, makes the supposition very natural.

For natural or artificial grottoes are very common in the Eastern countries, particularly in Judea, and are often used for their cattle. So Dr. Pococke observes, that "there were three uses for grottoes; for they served either for sepulchres, cisterns, or as retreats for herdsmen and their cattle in bad weather, and especially in the winter nights; this may account for the great number of grottoes all over the Holy Land, in which, at this time, many families live in winter, and drive their cattle into them by night, as a fence both against the weather and wild beasts."*

OBSERVATION XXIX.

OF THE LIGHTS USED IN THE EAST AND THEIR METHOD OF ILLUMINATING THEIR HOUSES.

THE houses of Egypt at this time are never without lights. Maillet assures us,† they burn lamps, not only all the night long, but in all inhabited apartments of an house; that the poorest people would rather retrench part of their food than neglect it.

If we may suppose Maillet's account of the modern use of lamps in Egypt, is not only a true representation of what obtained anciently there, but of what was practised in the neighbouring countries of Arabia and Judea, it will serve to set several passages of Scripture in a light in which I never saw them placed.

* Trav. into the East, vol. ii. p. 48. † Let. 9. p. 10, 11.

Jeremiah* makes the taking away the light of the candle and a total desolation the same thing. According to our notions, however, England did not appear to be an uninhabited country every night in the time of William the Conqueror, though after the curfew bell† rang at eight o'clock, there was no light to be seen in any of its houses; but if the present Egyptian custom obtained anciently in Judea, it is no wonder that the Prophet makes this a mark of desolation. And, indeed, he has spoken of it in such a manner as hardly to allow us to doubt, upon reading this account of modern Egypt, but that something of the same sort was formerly practised in Judea.

Job describes the destruction of a family among the Arabs, and the rendering one of their habitations desolate, after the same manner, *How oft is the candle of the wicked put out, and how oft cometh their destruction upon them?* Job xxi. 17 Bildad makes use of the same thought, ch. xviii. 5, 6. No light, indeed, according to d'Arvieux,‡ was to be seen in the camp of the Arabs that he visited; but it is to be remembered, that Job and his friends were not Bedouins, and that there is a particular reason why these Arabs choose to have no light seen in their camps, the apprehension that these might betray them to their enemies.

On the other hand, when God promises to give David *a lamp* always in Jerusalem, which promise is frequently to be met with, if you place it in this point of view, it amounts to this, that the house of David should never

* Ch. xxv. 10, 11.

† *Curfew*, or *curfu*, a corruption of the French *couvre feu*, or *couvrez le feu*, extinguish or cover the fire. A wanton act of tyranny exercised by William duke of Normandy over the inhabitants of England, whom he had conquered and degraded. A bell was ordered to be rung in all cities and towns throughout the nation, precisely at eight o'clock in the evening, at the sound of which the people were obliged universally to *extinguish their fires* on pain of death. EDIT.

‡ Voy. dans la Pal. p. 180.

become desolate, but some of his posterity should always be residing in his royal seat as kings in Jerusalem.

The oil that is commonly used in Egypt, Maillet tells us in the same place, is not oil of olives, though that is not very scarce there, but the juice of a certain root which grows in the marshes of that country, called cirika, which looks a good deal like wild succory. The oil that is obtained from this plant, he observes, is of a very disagreeable smell, and the light it produces not so beautiful as that of olive oil; for this reason, people of condition, and those who without being so would distinguish themselves, burn only this last, which is not very expensive.

The cirika, Maillet apprehends, is peculiar to Egypt; however, there are other plants which produce oil for burning in different Eastern countries:* the oil of the ricinus in particular, Dr. Russell informs us, serves for the lamps of the common people of Aleppo.†

If there was some difference anciently, as there is now in Egypt, between the lamps of the poor and the prosperous, as to the brightness and agreeableness of the scent of the several kinds of oil that they burnt, it is not impossible that Solomon might refer to that circumstance in these words, *The light of the righteous rejoiceth*, he uses the brightest burning and most agreeably scented kind of oil, he prospers, *but the lamp of the wicked shall be put out*, he shall not only be poor, but be destroyed, and his house become desolate. It may, however, very possibly refer to the great number of lights that the righteous burnt, which might be as numerous almost as those of an illumination in a time of public rejoicing, the families of the wealthy in those countries being extremely numerous, and according to Maillet, every inhabited apartment has a light burning in it; whereas the wicked shall sink

* What is here called cirika is properly the *Seerij*, and is extracted from the Sesamum. EDIT.

† Vol. i. p. 79, 80.

in his circumstances, and have hardly a servant to attend him, yea shall absolutely perish, and his house become desolate.

And now I have had occasion to mention this, it may be thought a subject of inquiry somewhat curious, how the people of the Levant illuminate their houses, seeing they have few or no windows that open into their apartments.* But Thevenot has explained this, who saw a public rejoicing at Cairo for the taking two castles in Hungary;† and another at Aleppo, for the birth of the Grand Seignior's eldest son;‡ by these it appears, that they illuminate their houses by placing great numbers of lamps in and before the gates of the houses.

After the same manner the Jews solemnized the feast of Dedication, of which we read John x. 22, and which from this circumstance, it has been supposed was called φῶτα, or lights, according to Maimonides: for he says, "it was celebrated by the burning a great number of lights that night at the doors of their houses."§ Maimonides lived in Egypt, and he speaks according to the practice of that country certainly; and most probably truly represents the Jewish way of illuminating.

OBSERVATION XXX.

OF THE WALLS ROUND THEIR DWELLINGS.

If they raised up anciently the walls of their cities so high as not to be liable to be scaled, they thought them safe.

* Shaw, p. 207. † Part ii. p. 35, 36. ‡ Part i. p. 241, 242.

§ See Lightfoot's Temple service. "This, says Dr. Russell, MS. note, is done on the birth of a prince, &c. and is called *zeeny*, or rather the illumination is a part of the *zeeny*." The Arabic word زينة or زينة *zeeneh*, or *zeenet*, signifies an *ornament, decoration, dress;* and is hence applied also to a rejoicing or gala day, a festival. يوم الزينة i.e. the time of ornamenting, dressing, feasting, &c. Query, does not our word *zany, a merry extravagant fellow*, come from this Arabic term? See an account of the revelry and extravagance practised at the *zeenah*, Observ. xxxvi. in this Chap. EDIT.

The same simple contrivance is to this day sufficient to guard places from the Arabs, who live in that very wilderness in which Israel wandered, when the spies discouraged the hearts of the people, by saying, *The cities are great, and walled up to heaven*, Deut. i. 28, and who are a nation more inured to warlike enterprises than the Israelites were.

To say the *height* of the walls, which by a strong Eastern way of speaking are said to reach up to heaven, must be supposed to have given pain to the people Moses was conducting out of Egypt, who were by no means qualified to surmount this difficulty, though among us it would be very easily overcome, would be a just, but a cold and formal comment on these words, if compared with the liveliness and satisfaction the mind would receive, from the setting down what modern travellers have said about the present inhabitants of these deserts, who must be supposed to be as able to overcome any obstruction of this kind, as Israel, when that nation came out of Egypt; and who are by this means oftentimes prevented from working their will on the inhabitants of these walled places: I shall therefore here set down two or three passages of this kind, as an amusing explanation of the force of this complaint of the spies.

The great monastery at Mount Sinai, Thevenot* says, "is well built, of good free stone, with very high smooth walls; on the East side there is a window, by which those that were within drew up pilgrims into the monastery, with a basket which they let down by a rope that runs in a pulley, to be seen above at the window, and the pilgrims went into it one after another, and so were hoisted up," &c. These walls, he observes in the next chapter, are "so high that they cannot be scaled, and without cannon that place cannot be taken."

"The monastery of St. Anthony† is inhabited as I have been saying, by religious of the Coptic nation, to whom

* Part i. p. 169, 170. † In Egypt.

provisions are sent from time to time. It is a vast enclosure with good walls, raised so high as to secure this place from the insults of the Arabs. There is no entrance into it but by a pulley, by means of which people are hoisted up on high and so conveyed into the monastery."* By means of these walls these places are impregnable to the Arabs; the Israelites thought the cities of Canaan must be impregnable to them, for they forgot the divine power of their leader.

OBSERVATION XXXI.

METHOD OF SECURING THEIR GATES, LOCKS, KEYS, BARS, &c.

VAIN however would have been the precaution of raising their *walls* to a great height, if their *gates* had not been well secured. It cannot however be imagined, that their gates were in common walled up upon the approach of danger, as the gate of the convent of Mount Sinai is constantly kept, never being opened, excepting at the reception of a new archbishop; and that there was no entrance at such times into their strong cities but by pullies: there were other methods by which they might, and undoubtedly did, secure them. One of them is, the plating them over with thick iron. This they probably practised anciently, it is certain it now obtains in those countries; so Pitts tells us, that Algiers has five gates, and some of these have two, some three other gates within them, and some of them plated all over with thick iron, being made strong and convenient for what it is, a nest of pirates.†

After this manner, the place where St. Peter was imprisoned seems to have been secured. *When they were past the first and second ward, they came unto the iron gate that leadeth unto the city, which opened to them of*

* Maillet, Let. 8. p. 321.

† P 19.

its own accord. Acts xii. 10. So Dr. Pococke, speaking of a bridge not far from Antioch, called the Iron bridge, says,* "there are two towers belonging to it, the gates of which are covered with iron plates, which he supposes is the reason why it is called the iron bridge."

Some of their gates are plated over in like manner with brass, such are the vastly large gates of the church of St. John Baptist at Damascus, now converted into a mosque.†

The curious have remarked, that if their gates are sometimes of iron and brass, their *locks* and *keys* are often of wood; and that not only of their houses, but sometimes of their cities too. Russell, I think, makes this remark on the houses of Aleppo, as Rauwolff did long before him. As to those of their cities, Thevenot, speaking of Grand Cairo,‡ says, "All their locks and keys are of wood, and they have none of iron, no not for their city gates, which may be all easily opened without a key. The keys are bits of timber, with little pieces of wire that lift up other pieces of wire which are in the lock, and enter into certain little holes, out of which the ends of wire that are in the key having thrust them, the gate is open. But without the key, a little soft paste upon the end of one's finger will do the job as well." Rauwolff§ does not speak of the locks and keys of wood in those terms of universality that Thevenot makes use of; he only says, their doors and houses are generally shut with wooden bolts, and that they unlock them with wooden keys. Probably it was so anciently, and that in contradiction to them we read of *cities with walls and brazen bars*, 1 Kings iv. 13, and of *breaking in pieces gates of brass and bars of iron.* Isai. xlv. 2. And according to this, there may be something more in the emphasis of the following passage than has been remarked: *A brother offended is harder to be won than a*

* Vol. ii. part i. p. 172.

† Maundrell, p. 126.

‡ Part i. p. 115.

§ P. 23, 24.

strong city: and their contentions are like the bars of a castle; not merely hard to be removed on account of their size, but on account of the materials of which they were made, as not being of wood, but of iron or brass.*

What Thevenot observes, of the ease with which their locks are often opened without a key, puts one in mind of those words, Cant. v. 4, *My beloved put in his hand by the hole, and my bowels were moved for him.* He attempted, that is, apparently, to open the door by putting in his finger at the keyhole, according to some such method as that described by Thevenot; he attempted, but it did not open, my heart then was greatly moved. But what a strange explanation does Bishop Patrick give of these words, "*He put in his hand by the hole*, i.e. at the window, or casement; as if he would draw her out of bed:" &c. How unacquainted was this good Prelate with some of the customs of the Levant, or at least how inattentive to them in this place, not to say how indelicate! Their houses have few or no windows on the outside, and especially in the lower story, so that what he supposes could be no circumstance in an Eastern poem; but if the Jewish houses had been quite different from those that are now built in those countries, the sacred lover would never have been represented after this manner. What makes it the more strange is, that several commentators, who perhaps were as much unacquainted with the nature of the Eastern buildings as this writer, yet have thought the words must signify attempting to unlock the door.†

The handles of the lock, spoken of in the next verse, are I suppose, to be understood of these wires; the word

* "The gates, besides these locks, says Dr. Russell, MS. note, have large wooden bars, which draw out from the wall on each side." These wooden locks, therefore, are not intended for defence, but merely to serve as latches to shut the doors in times of peace and security. The *large wooden bars* mentioned by Dr. Russell, served for defence. The wooden locks, he says, are now generally disused, except in the Bazars, Khanes, and Stables. Vol. i. p. 21, 22. EDIT.

† Piscator. Mercer. Sanctius, aliique, ap. Poli Syn.

signifying, in some other places, branches, which these wires resemble. To suppose the myrrh was used for the same purpose as the soft paste Thevenot speaks of, though ineffectually, would be probably thought an excessive refinement; it is sufficient to observe, that he says in the first verse, he had gathered myrrh with other spices, and attempting therefore to open the door with a hand besmeared with this precious gum, the spouse, when she went to unlock the door, found that her fingers gathered it up from the handles of the lock, and this the strong language of poetry might very well express by, *My hand dropped myrrh, my fingers sweet-smelling myrrh.*

OBSERVATION XXXII.

WATCHMEN EMPLOYED DURING THE NIGHT IN THE EAST.

It is evident in the Scriptures, that besides these cares, they had watchmen that used to patrol in their streets: and it is natural to suppose, that they were these people that gave them notice how the seasons of the night passed away.

I am indebted for this thought to Sir John Chardin's MS. He observes in a note on Ps. xc. 4, that as the people of the East have no clocks, the several parts of the day and of the night, which are eight in all, are given notice of. In the Indies, the parts of the night are made known as well by instruments, of music, in great cities, as by the rounds of the watchmen, who with cries and small drums, give them notice that a fourth part of the night is passed.* Now as these cries awaked those who had

* "The watchmen at Aleppo do not call the hour, Dr. Russell, MS note, but the criers from the mosque sing at *asha*, evening, midnight, and daybreak."

عشا *asha*, or *ysha*, signifies the first watch of the night; or, according to some, the whole time from the sun's passing the meridian until the twilight. EDIT.

slept all that quarter part of the night, it appeared to them but as a moment. There are sixty of these people in the Indies, by day, and as many by night; that is, fifteen for each division.

It is apparent the ancient Jews knew how the night passed away, which must probably be by some public notice given them: but whether it was by simply publishing at the close of each watch, what watch was then ended; or whether they made use of any instruments of music in this business, may not be easily determinable; and still less what measurers of time the watchmen made use of.

OBSERVATION XXXIII.

WHY JERUSALEM WAS CALLED ARIEL, THE LION OF GOD.

THE numbers that assembled at Jerusalem must of course consume great quantities of provision. The consumption of flesh also must there have been much larger, in proportion to the number of the people, than elsewhere; because in the East they live in common very much on vegetables, farinaceous food, oil, honey, &c. but at Jerusalem vast quantities of flesh were consumed in the sacred feasts,* as well as burnt upon the altar.

Perhaps this circumstance will best explain the holy city's being called *Ariel*, or the *Lion of God*, Isai. xxix. 1: an appellation which has occasioned a variety of speculation among the learned. Vitringa, in his celebrated commentary on Isaiah, supposes that David, according to the Eastern custom, was called the Lion of GOD, and so this city was called by this name from him; a resolution by no means natural. The Arabs, indeed, in later ages, have often called their great men by this honourable term:

* Deut. xii. 17, 18, ch. xiv. 26.

d'Herbelot, I think, somewhere tells us, that Ali, Mohammed's son-in-law, was so called; and I am sure he affirms, that Mohammed gave this title to Hamzah,* his uncle. It will be readily allowed that this was comformable to the taste of much more ancient times: Vitringa's quotation from 2 Sam. xxiii. 20, sufficiently proves this; to which I would add, Ezra viii. 16. It will be allowed too, that it was no improper title for David, who was so remarkable for his martial prowess. But if Ariel signifies here, and the *Wo to Ariel, to Ariel,* is equivalent to Wo to the city of David, to the city of David, why is that note of explanation added, by the Prophet himself, *the city where David dwelt?* what is more, will this at all account for the altar's being called *Ariel,* as it is in Ezek. xliii. 15?† Is it not proper rather to think of some circumstance that agrees to both which might be the occasion of calling each Ariel? And such, according to the Eastern taste, was the consuming great quantities of provision, and especially of flesh.

"The modern Persians will have it," says d'Herbelot, in his account of Shiraz, a city of that country, "that this name was given to it, because this city consumes and devours like a lion, which is called *Sheer* in Persian, all that is brought to it, by which they express the multitude, and it may be the good appetite of its inhabitants."

The Prophet then pronounces wo to Zion, perhaps as too ready to trust to the number of its inhabitants and sojourners, which may be insinuated by this term which he uses, *Ariel.*

And conformably to this interpretation, the threatening, in the last clause of the second verse, may be understood of Jerusalem's consuming its inhabitants. We read of a *land eating up its inhabitants,* Numb. xiii. 32. Jerusalem then, which had been called Ariel on account of

* P. 427.

† In the Hebrew, though it does not appear in our translation, nor indeed in the marginal reading there.

the great quantities of flesh consumed there, above all the other cities of Judea, might be threatened by the Prophet to be called Ariel, as consuming its inhabitants themselves: a very different sense from the preceding one, and an extremely bitter one.

OBSERVATION XXXIV

OF THE NUMBERS WHICH ASSEMBLED YEARLY AT JERUSALEM DURING THE THREE GREAT FESTIVALS, AND OF THE CARAVANS WHICH GO ANNUALLY TO MECCA.

To those that may wonder how Jerusalem could receive such multitudes, as were obliged by the Jewish law to attend there three times a year, and as we know did sometimes actually appear in it, I would recite the account that Pitts gives of Mecca, the sacred city of the Mohammedans, and the number of people he found collected together there, for the celebration of their religious solemnities, in the close of the xviith century.

This city, he tells us, he thought he might safely say, had not one thousand families in it of constant inhabitants, and the buildings very mean and ordinary.* That four caravans arrive there every year, with great numbers of people in each,† and the Mohammedans say, there meet not fewer than seventy thousand souls at these solemnities; and that though he could not think the number quite so large, yet that it is very great.‡ How such numbers of people, with their beasts, could be lodged and entertained in such a little ragged town as Mecca, is a question he thus answers. "As for houseroom, the inhabitants do straighten themselves very much, in order at this time to make their market. And as for such as come last, after the town is filled, they pitch their tents without the town, and there abide until they remove tow-

* P. 86, 87, note. † P. 84. ‡ P. 137.

ard home. As for provision, they all bring sufficient with them, except it be of flesh, which they may have at Mecca; but all other provisions, as butter, honey, oil, olives, rice, biscuit, &c. they bring with them, as much as will last through the Wilderness, forward and backward, as well as the time they stay at Mecca; and so for their camels they bring store of provender, &c. with them."*

The number of Jews that assembled at Jerusalem at their Passover,† was much greater: but had not Jerusalem been a much larger city than Mecca is, as in truth it was: yet the present Mohammedan practice of abiding under tents, and carrying their provisions and bedding with them, will easily explain how they might be accommodated.

OBSERVATION XXXV

OF THEIR FIREPLACES, CHIMNIES, METHOD OF ROASTING THEIR MEAT, AND WARMING THEIR APARTMENTS.

THE reason of the Jews assembling to Jerusalem was the peculiar holiness of that city. This circumstance occasioned them to make a difference betwixt that and their other towns, in several points: they having only some gardens of roses, which we have already remarked,‡ was one thing: but there were others, which Lightfoot§ gives us an account of from Maimonides, and among the rest, they did not admit of the making of chimnies there, by reason of the smoke.

* P. 87, 88.

† Josephus says, that in one year the number of lambs slain at the Passover amounted to 556,500, and that 10 men at least ate of one lamb, and often many more, even to the number of 20. Taking therefore the number of persons at the lowest computation, i. e. 10 to one lamb, there must have been present this year at Jerusalem, not less than two milion five hundred and sixty five thousand persons! See Josephus, War. B. vi. c. 9. Sect. 3. EDIT.

‡ Observ. xxiii.

§ Vol. ii. p. 51.

An inhabited city without chimnies, seems to be an oddity, and almost an impossibility. Reland, reciting* the same peculiarities from the Gemara, instead of chimnies puts limekilns. Whether Maimonides, an Egyptian rabbi, carried his refinement too far; or a western translator, not knowing what to make of a city without chimnies, supposed limekilns must be meant; I shall not take upon me to determine: but I should not wonder to find chimnies were forbidden in Jerusalem, by those that carried their scrupulosity concerning defilement the length the Jewish doctors did, as they are not so necessary in an Eastern city, as we of the West are ready to imagine.

I have elsewhere† observed from Dr. Russell, that fires in winter are used but for a little while at Aleppo, which is considerably further to the North than Jerusalem, and some there make use of none at all; to which I would add from the same author, that the fires they then use in their lodging rooms are of charcoal, in pans.‡ In like manner it appears by Dr. Pococke,§ that pans of coals are the fires that are often made use of in winter in Egypt, for he takes notice of them in more places than one, and mentions the district that furnishes the greatest part of Egypt with charcoal.¶

What seems most to have required the use of wood, and consequently chimnies, was the dressing the Paschal lambs; for charcoal might without doubt, be sufficient for

* Antiq. Sac. p. 15.

† Ch. 1.

‡ Trav. into the East, vol. i. p. 82, and p. 85.

§ On this Dr. Russell makes the following observation in his MS. notes; "Several of their small lodging rooms have *fireplaces*; but there are none in their great apartments, such being heated by brasiers of charcoal. But their kitchens have large chimnies, as also their public ovens and bagnios; and in these vast quantities of wood are consumed, besides charcoal. To have prohibited chimnies, must, if fire was used at all, have more certainly defiled the city than the smoke of them could have done." EDIT.

¶ Pococke, vol. i. p. 87.

their common cookery :* if, however, they roasted the lambs of the Passover, as Thevenot tells us† the Persians do whole sheep as well as lambs, which are not designed for sacred purposes, the use of smoky wood might be avoided; for they do it, he says, in ovens, which have the mouth in their tops, into which, after they are well heated, they put the meat, with an earthen drippingpan underneath to receive the fat; they roast alike on all sides, and he acknowledges that they dress them well. He subjoins another way of roasting a whole sheep, practised by the Armenians, by which also the use of smoky wood is avoided; for having flayed it, they cover it again with the skin, and put it into an oven upon the quick coals, covering it also with a good many of the same coals, that it may have fire under and over to roast it well on all sides, and the skin keeps it from being burnt.

But however these things may be, it is certain this account concerning Jerusalem is in no wise contradicted, but rather confirmed, by what St. John says of a fire kindled in a palace there, to warm some people who had been out in a cold night, which it seems was a fire of charcoal, not of wood, John xviii. 18, and gives a propriety to the mentioning this circumstance, which I never observed remarked in any author, in like manner, Pasehal ovens are also mentioned by Jewish writers.

Agreeably to what I have been observing, of the nature of the fires at Jerusalem, I find Sir John Chardin, in his MS. notes, supposes the fire that was burning before‡ king Jehoiakim, and in which he burnt Jeremiah's roll, was a pan of coals. After giving a Latin translation of this passage, which renders the word we translate hearth, *arula*, or a little altar, he goes on and tells us in French, This

* As Olearius tells us, p. 757, 758, that they are obliged in Persia, on account of their having little wood there, to make use of stoves, or hollow places in the ground, of the bigness of a kettle, in which they burn charcoal, and which serve the more frugal for their cooking and their baking. See also the Arab manner of roasting, in the next chapter.

† Part ii. p. 95. ‡ Jer. xxxvi. 22, 23.

was just as persons of quality warm themselves in winter in Persia, and particularly in Media, and wherever there is no want of wood. The manner in which they sit will not allow them to be near a chimney; in these places therefore of the East, they have great brasiers of lighted coals. It is certain, it is not the common word which signifies hearth in the original, but one that does not appear any where else in the Old Testament.*

OBSERVATION XXXVI.

OF THEIR ACCOMMODATIONS AT THEIR PUBLIC FESTIVALS.

And now I am engaged in making remarks on the Jewish account of the peculiarities of Jerusalem, I will take the liberty of adding one observation more of this sort, though I do not recollect that any passage of holy writ will be explained by it. It relates to the prohibition,

* The word is האח *ha ach*, which Parkhurst supposes to mean a brasier. These he observes were in use among the ancient Greeks, and were called by Homer Λαμπτηρες; Odyss. xix. l. 63, 64, where he says that Penelope's maids threw the embers out of the *brasiers* upon the floor, and then heaped fresh wood on them to afford both light and warmth.

Πυρ δ' απο ΛΑΜΠΤΗΡΩΝ χαμαδις βαλον αλλα δ' επ' αυτης
Νηησαν ξυλα πολλα φοως εμεν ηδε ΘΕΡΕΣΘΑΙ.

Compare Odyssey xviii. 306—310, 312.

The modern Greeks imitate their ancestors in this; they have no *chimnies*, but a *brasier*, called λαμπτηρ, stands upon a tripod in the middle of the room, on which they burn wood. See Mons. de Guy's Sentimental Journey through Greece HARMER.

Though Dr. Russell in a MS. note rather questions this criticism, yet his observation casts some light upon the passage. As the words stand in our translation of this place in Jeremiah, it would seem to have been a *hearth*, not a *brasier*, otherwise the burning of the wood would have filled the house with smoke. Persons of quality at Aleppo have small winter chambers, which have a *chimney* and a *hearth* raised about a foot from the floor; and they even place their charcoal in a pan there, to avoid the deleterious effects of its fume in a close place. Their mode of sitting is no impediment, the divan is formed in the usual manner. This observation, in my opinion, is perfectly satisfactory, and solves all the difficulties EDIT

mentioned by Lightfoot in the same place,* of setting up scaffolds against the wall, which was forbidden at Jerusalem, as being an holy place. Reland expresses this much more intelligibly, by the term *meniana ædium*, which signifies balconies, or something of that sort. But why were they forbidden? It is said, on account of defilement: but how balconies, or conveniences of a similar nature, should have been defiling, does not appear very obvious.

Perhaps the use that is made of balconies, or latticed windows, in their public festivals at this time in the Levant, may account for this prohibition. Dr. Shaw will explain this, who, after having observed that the jealousy of the people there admits only of one small latticed window into the street, the rest opening into their own courts, says, "It is during the celebration only of some *zeena*, as they call a public festival, that these houses and their latticed windows or balconies are left open. For this being a time of great liberty, revelling, and extravagance, each family is ambitious of adorning both the inside and the outside of the houses with their richest furniture,† whilst crowds of both sexes, dressed out in their best apparel, and laying aside all modesty and restraint, go in and out where they please. The account we have, 2 Kings ix. 30, of Jezebel's painting her face, and tiring her head, and looking out at a window, upon Jehu's public entrance into Jezreel, gives us a lively idea of an Eastern lady at one of these zeenahs or solemnities."‡ Some of the heathen religious festivals were very lewd, but great modesty was a distinguishing characteristic of the Jewish; for that reason, possibly, no meniana were suffered in the holy city of the Jews.

* Vol. ii. p. 21.

† Dr. Russell observes, MS. note; "The private merchants and others do not adorn their *houses*, but only the public *khans*, and *bazars* where they have their chambers or shops." EDIT.

‡ P. 207.

OBSERVATION XXXVII.

DOGS IN THE EAST SUPPORTED BY PUBLIC CHARITY.

THE great external purity which is so studiously attended to by the modern Eastern people, as well as the ancient, produces some odd circumstances with respect to their dogs.

They do not suffer them in their houses, and even with care avoid their touching them in the streets, which would be considered as a defilement. One would imagine then, that under these circumstances, as they do not appear by any means to be necessary in their cities, however important they may be to those that feed flocks, there should be very few of these creatures found in those places; they are notwithstanding there in great numbers, and crowd their streets. They do not appear to belong to particular persons as our dogs do, nor to be fed distinctly by such as might claim some interest in them, but get their food as they can. At the same time they consider it as right to take some care of them, and the charitable people among them frequently give money every week, or month, to butchers and bakers to feed them at stated times, and some leave legacies at their deaths, for the same purpose; this is le Bruyn's account.* Thevenot and Maillet mention something of the same sort.†

In like manner dogs seem to have been looked upon among the Jews in a disagreeable light, 1 Sam. xvii. 43, 2 Kings viii. 13; yet they had them in considerable numbers in their cities, Ps. lix. 14. They were not, however, shut up in their houses or courts, Ps. lix. 6, 14; but seem to have been forced to seek their food where they could find it, Ps. lix. 15; to which I may add, that some care of them seems to be indirectly enjoined to the Jews,

* Tom. i. p. 361, 362.

† Thev. part i. p. 51, 52. Maillet, Let. ix. p. 38.

Exod. xxii. 31; circumstances that seem to be more illustrated by these travellers into the East, than by any commentators that I know of.*

OBSERVATION XXXVIII.

OF THEIR DOVE HOUSES, PIGEONS, &c.

THE prophet Isaiah† apparently supposes, that buildings for the reception of doves were common in those countries in his time, when he says, *Who are these that fly as a cloud, and as doves to their windows.*

Dandini however, the nuncio to the Maronites, who describes himself as very curious in making observations on the Eastern countries, tells us, there are no dove houses to be seen in Mount Libanus, nor in all the Levant, though there are an abundance of pigeons, turtle doves, and all sorts of birds.‡

Is there then a change in the Eastern managements in relation to this point? There is not. The nuncio was only not so careful in making observations as he himself supposed to be, or the places in Syria he travelled through unfortunately differed from the rest of that country. "Kefteen," says Maundrell, in the very beginning of his travels, "is a large plentiful village on the West side of the plain; and the adjacent fields abounding with corn, give the inhabitants great advantage for breeding pigeons; insomuch that you find here more dove cotes than other houses."§

And as for Egypt, the tops of all their habitations in the Southern part of it, are always terminated by a pigeon house; and there is in some places a law, which does not

* The passages quoted here from the *Psalms* are more apposite to the subject than those from Samuel, Kings and Exodus. EDIT.

† Ch. lx. 8. ‡ Ch. x. p. 43. "All sorts of birds." This is a very gross mistake, and at once shows how little Dandini is to be depended on. EDIT.

§ P. 3.

permit any man to marry, and to keep house, unless he is in possession of such a dove house, if we may believe Norden.* Dr. Shaw, also, has thought it not right to omit dove houses, when he gave a prospect of an Egyptian village.†

Where art intervenes not, pigeons build in those hollownesses nature provides for them. I have taken notice, in another work, of this property of these birds,‡ and cited a passage from Dr. Shaw, which informs us, that a certain city in Africa is called Hamamet, from the Haman, or wild pigeons that copiously breed in the adjoining cliffs. The very ingenious as well as honorable William Hamilton, Esq. his Majesty's envoy extraordinary at Naples, who has most laudably joined philosophical inquiries to national cares, has given us another proof of this quality of pigeons; for in a most curious paper relating to Mount Etna,§ which mentions a number of subterraneous caverns there, he tells us one of them was called by the peasants, La Spelonca della Palomba, from the wild pigeons building their nests therein. Cant. ii. 14, evidently refers to this property, as does also Jer. xlviii. 28.

Though Etna is a burning mountain, he found the cold in these caverns excessive. This shows that pigeons delight in cool retreats; and explains the reason why they resort to mountains, which are known to be very cold, even in those hot countries. Mount Sinai has been found to be so by travellers, though situated amidst the sultry deserts of Arabia.‖ The words of the Psalmist, *Flee as a bird to your mountain*, without doubt refer to the flying of doves thither, when frightened by the fowler.

If the mountains are cool, the vallies are extremely hot. Doves are described as often in the vallies however: they are so, Ezek. vii. 16. It should seem this is on

* Vol. 2. p. 20, 21. † See the plate facing p. 291.

‡ Outlines of a new Commentary on Solomon's Song, p. 254, 255.

§ See Phil. Trans. vol. 60, for 1770. ‖ Egmont, vol. 2 p. 169

account of the waters they find there, in which they delight: so Dr. Russell tells us, when pigeons were employed as posts, they not only placed the paper containing the news under the wing, to prevent its being destroyed by wet, but "used to bathe their feet in vinegar, with a view to keeping them cool, so as they might not settle to drink or wash themselves, which would have destroyed the paper."* They were fond of the water which they found in the vallies; but took up their abode, and built their nests, in cavities of the mountains.

Consul Drummond not only confirms the account we have of pigeon houses in Syria, but gives us to understand they are considerable edifices; for he tells us, "the village Bellremon makes a tolerable appearance at a distance, but when we approached it, we found the houses were mere huts, and that the deception was occasioned by their pigeon houses, which are long, square buildings."†

OBSERVATION XXXIX.

TREES AND PLANTATIONS ABOUT THEIR HOUSES.

PLANTATIONS of trees about houses are found very useful in hot countries, to give them an agreeable coolness. The ancient Israelites seem to have made use of the same means, and probably planted fruit trees rather than other kinds, to produce that effect.

"It is their manner in many places," says Sir Thomas Row's chaplain,‡ speaking of the country of the Great Mogul, "to plant about, and amongst their buildings, trees which grow high and broad, the shadow whereof keeps their houses by far more cool: this I observed in a special manner, when we were ready to enter Amadavar; for it appeared to us, as if we had been entering a wood rather than a city."

The expression, in the Old Testament, of people's *dwelling under their vines and their fig trees,* seems

* Vol. ii. p. 203. † P. 195. ‡ P. 399.

strongly to intimate, that this method anciently obtained much in Judea;* and that vines and fig trees were what were commonly used in that country.

Nor was this management at all to be wondered at; as the ancient patriarchs found it very agreeable to pitch their tents under the shade of some thick tree,† their children might naturally be disposed to plant them about their houses.

And as it was requisite for them to raise as many eatables as they could, in so very populous a country as that was, it is no wonder they planted fig trees, whose shade was thickened by vines, about their houses, under which they might sit in the open air, and yet in the cool.

This writer mentions another circumstance, in which there is an evident similarity between the ancient Jews and these more Eastern people: "But for their houses in their *aldeas*, or villages, which stand very thick in that country, they are generally very poor and base. All those country dwellings are set up close together; for I never observed any house there to stand single, and alone."‡

The account the Baron de Tott gives of the Egyptian villages, shows they are shaded in much the same manner, part iv. p. 63. "Wherever the inundation can reach, their habitations are erected, on little hills, raised for that purpose, which serve for the common foundation of all the houses which stand together, and which are contrived to take up as little room as possible, that they may save all the ground they can for cultivation. This precaution is necessary, to prevent the water's washing away the walls, which are only of mud."

"The villages are always surrounded by an infinite number of pointed turrets, meant to invite thither the pigeons, in order to collect the dung. Every village has, likewise, a small wood of palm trees near it, the property of which is common: these supply the inhabitants with

* 1 Kings iv. 25. † Gen. xviii. 1, 4, 8. ‡ P. 400.

dates for their consumption, and leaves for fabrication of baskets, mats, and other things of that kind. Little causeways, raised, in like manner, above the inundation, preserve a communication during the time it lasts."

Palm trees, according to this, are planted universally about the Egyptian villages; had they been as generally about the Jewish towns, Jericho would hardly have been called the *city of palm trees*,* by way of distinction from the rest. It appears to have been, in Judea, rather a peculiarity.

But the Jewish towns and houses might be wont to be surrounded by other trees, proper for their use, which probably were vines and fig trees, which furnished two great articles of food for their consumption, and the cuttings of their vines must have been useful to them for fuel.† That plantations of some sort of trees were common about the Jewish towns, may be deduced even from the term כפר *kopher*, used in their language for a village, which is derived from a root that signifies to *cover* or *hide*.

OBSERVATION XL.

OF THEIR CASTLES, TOWERS, GATES, &c.

In my preface to these Observations on the Scriptures I observed, that transactions and customs in countries very remote from Judea, may throw some light over particular passages of Scripture, in the same way as Buchanan's relations of the manners of the ancient Scots, are found to illustrate some circumstances recorded by Homer, which immediately relate to Greek and Asiatic heroes; the very ingenious Mr. King seems to have fallen into the same way of thinking, in a very long, but curious paper of his, relating to our old British castles, read to the

* Deut. xxxiv. 3, 2 Chron. xxviii. 15.

† Ezek. xv. 6. I have indeed experimentally found the larger cuttings of the vine make excellent fuel, of the slighter sort, and they wanted little other in Judea.

Antiquarian Society, and published by them in the 6th volume of the Archæologia.

"I should be sorry to indulge myself in carrying conjectures, relating to high antiquity, too far; but, when I consider with what care and pains a magnificent stateroom has been formed, in every one of these kind of towers of entrance, I cannot but reflect upon what we so often read with regard to the earliest ages of the world, of kings sitting in the gates of cities, and of judgment being administered in the gate."*

This note relates immediately to a noble room over the gateway of the castle at Tunbridge, in Kent, of which the plan is given us in the 34th plate of that volume, but which is nothing peculiar to that castle, for similar rooms were found by him in other ancient buildings of that kind.

"This stateroom, he tells us,† appears to have been very magnificent, and of great dimensions, including the whole area of all the three rooms beneath.‡ It is now indeed divided into three such apartments as those are, but the walls forming the divisions are mere modern erections, of very late years, raised as the proprietor informed me, on the top of the original ones in the lower floor, with a view to fit up a small room as a library; which design was afterward laid aside."

In this stateroom is a large fire hearth and chimney, and "two very fine large windows, highly ornamented, in the style that began to be introduced in the time of king John, and in the earliest part of the reign of Henry III. but they appear to have had no glass, and to have been the usage in early times.

—"It was no less than seventeen feet in height. The beams of the floor for greater strength, were placed

* P. 290, 291, note. † P 284, &c.

‡ Consequently must have been about fiftytwo feet long, from the measures he gives us of the lower rooms, the thickness of the walls on each side of the passage into the castle, and the breadth of the passage itself.

much nearer to each other than those of the floor beneath: indeed, they are hardly the width of a beam asunder, and seem to have been intended to support occasionally the weight of a great concourse of people."

—"The ceiling of this room was still more remarkable than the floor, being no less than three feet in thickness; designed manifestly to support not only the lead of the flat roof, but moreover the great weight of balistas, catapultas, and other engines of war, placed their occasionally."

If there were such rooms in the towers of entrance into the Jewish cities, it is no wonder they made use of them for the elders to sit in when they held their courts of judicature.

This gentleman goes no further in his attempt to illustrate the Scriptures, but I would beg leave to pursue the thought. In describing the ground floor of this tower of entrance, after the first portcullis, which was of an enormous size, he tells us, was a pair of strong gates;* about fifteen feet further was another pair of great gates, if the plan is drawn with exactness; and after them a second portcullis. In the middle of the whole passage, and between the two pair of great gates, were two small doorways, one on each side, both secured by a strong portcullis first, and then by an iron door, which led to the two apartments, on either side the gateway one. The room on the left hand had no chimney, and seems to have served merely for lodging stores, but that on the right had a large fireplace, and adjoining to it, in the wall, a recess, which served for a privy. Similar rooms were over these, and above them the grand stateroom, to which they ascended by staircases, to which they went through the lower rooms, as from the stateroom, staircases led to the leads, or open top of the building.

After this I would set down the description that the sacred historian gives us, of the situation of David in the

* P. 280, &c.

entrance of Mahanaim, during the battle fought between his adherents and Absalom, and immediately after.* *And David sat between the two gates;† and the watchman went up to the roof over the gate unto the wall, and lift up his eyes and looked, and beheld a man running alone. And the watchman cried and told the king. And the king said, if he is alone, there is tidings in his mouth. And the watchman saw another man running, and the watchman called unto the porter, and said, behold, another man running alone. And the king said, he also bringeth tidings. And Ahimaaz called, and said unto the king, all is well. And the king said, turn aside, and stand here. And he turned aside, and stood still. And behold Hushi came. And the king said unto Hushi, is the young man Absalom safe? And Hushi answered, the enemies of my lord the king, and all that rise against thee to do thee hurt, be as that young man is. And the king was much moved, and went up to the chamber over the gate, and wept: and as he went, thus he said, O my son Absalom! &c. Then the king rose, and sat in the gate: and they told unto all the people, saying, behold, the king doth sit in the gate; and all the people came before the king: for Israel had fled every man to his tent.*

Here we see this tower of entrance into Mahanaim furnished, like the castle at Tunbridge, with two pair of gates, the one at a distance from the other; the king sitting between them, not, we may justly believe, in the passage itself so as to block up the way, or at all to incommode those that might be going or coming, but in a room by the side of the way, as in the English castle; we find a watchman stationed on the top of this tower of entrance, made, without doubt, commodious for that purpose, by

* 2 Sam. xviii. 24—33, ch. xix. 8.

† Not two different entrances into that city through different places of its wall, but two different gates in one and the same tower of entrance. This bishop Patrick saw, and remarks in his commentary on this place.

the staircases communicating with each other from the bottom to the top, as the English structure was flat, and covered with lead, for the purpose of descrying at a distance those that were approaching, as well as wounding assailants; we find the observations made by this watchman were not communicated by him immediately to the king, but by the intervention of a warder at the outer gate of this tower; and that there was a communication between this lower room, in which David first placed himself, and the upper room over the gateway, for by that mean he retired to give full vent to his sorrows. All that appears uncertain is, in what part of this building he sat, for it is evident he continued in some part of the gate,* when he returned his thanks to his officers and people for their exertions in his favour, or, in the language of the historian, *spake to the hearts of his servants*,† and when he received their compliments of congratulation; it is, I say, somewhat uncertain, whether he met his friends in the upper chamber, whither he retired to mourn, which the author of the paper in the Archæologia would call the state-room; or in the room where he first sat between the two gates; or in some other apartment of that building. Joab indeed, we are told, with great roughness laid before him the necessity of laying aside his mourning, of appearing in public, and graciously acknowledging the service his people had done him, in doing which he calls upon him, to arise and go forth; but this does not inform us where he sat in state, only we know from the following verse‡ that it was somewhere in the gate. And the words *go forth* might even only mean, arise from the ground on which thou liest, go out of this closet, or this obscure corner,§ where thou hast given up thyself to mourning, into this adjoining stateroom, and appear like thyself, the

* Ch. xix. v. 8. † See ch. xix. v. 7, margin. ‡ The 8th.

§ And Mr. King has shown, that very frequently small recesses attended these public rooms in or over the gates of our old English castles.

king of Israel, to whom God has preserved the crown, on a seat of dignity suitable to thy present state.

We sit not now, in common, in the gates of our public buildings, but bishop Pococke, when he travelled in these countries, found this ancient custom still kept up. So speaking of the ancient Byblus, he says, "When I returned from viewing the town, the sheik and the elders were sitting in the gate of the city, after the ancient manner, and I sat awhile with them."*

There is another circumstance relating to this old castle at Tunbridge, which is mentioned in the same paper of the Archæologia, and which should not be passed over in silence here, and that is the use of pitch instead of lime, for cementing stones together. "On digging at the bottom of the fosse," he tells the Antiquarian Society, "were found remaining the foundations of two piers, which supported the bridge; and which were constructed in a very remarkable manner, the stones being laid in pitch, mixed with hair, instead of mortar."

When it is said in the book of Genesis,† that in building the tower of Babel they had *slime* for mortar, by which bitumen is supposed to be meant, which very much resembles pitch, and which pitchy substance the earth throws out in various places, it is not a necessary consequence, derivable from that account, that it was the first kind of cement that ever was made use of since the use of lime might be known in that age, and the bitumen be used notwithstanding, as pitch in the castle at Tunbridge, for its supposed strength.

Many structures of stone have been raised up without any cement at all, and there are some such still remaining in Scotland, as appears by the papers of the Antiquarian Society,‡ so artfully were the stones laid: but when Tun-

* Trav. vol. ii. p. 98. † Gen. xi. 3.

‡ Niebuhr found many buildings in the Southern part of Arabia, that had no cement, but were formed of loose stones placed with some management on each other. Voy tom. i.

bridge castle was built, the use of lime was certainly well known in England; pitch must have been chosen on account of its supposed strength; bitumen might be used for the same reason, in the construction of the tower of Babel.

The early use of burnt brick in the building the tower, deserves attention too: *They said one to another, go to, let us make brick, and burn them thoroughly. And they had brick for stone, and slime had they for mortar.* A great part, perhaps the largest, of the bricks that are used at this day in these countries are only dried in the sun, as I have already had occasion to observe.

OBSERVATION XLI.

CURIOUS PARTICULARS CONCERNING ANCIENT CASTLES, ILLUSTRATING 2 KINGS ix. 13.

THE same ingenious gentleman,* in the same paper of observations on our old castles, gives us a note designed to illustrate, though with great modesty, another passage of Scripture, which it may not be amiss to add to the preceding.

"When I read, in the 9th ch. of the 2d book of Kings, that on Jehu's being anointed king over Israel, at Ramoth Gilead, the captains of the host, who were then sitting in council, as soon as they heard thereof, *took every man his garment, and put it under him, on the top of the stairs; and blew with trumpets, proclaiming Jehu is king;* and when I consider the account given by Herodotus, of the ancient Ecbatana, which was at no great distance from Syria, and in a country much connected with it; and reflect also on the appearance of the top of the staircases both at Launceston and Connisborough;† when, I say, I

* Archæol. vol. vi. p. 293. † According to the 23d plate of this volume, which gives us representations of this castle at Connisborough, in one corner of a court, strongly walled in, is a *keep*, or tower of peculiar strength, to which the ascent is by a narrow, steep, and dangerous flight of many steps, which Mr. King supposes might resemble the stairs ascending the tower in which Jehu was sitting in council, and on the top of which stairs he was proclaimed.

consider all these circumstances, I am very apt to conclude, that at either of the two latter places is still to be beheld, nearly the same kind of scenery, as to building, which was exhibited to the world, on the remarkable occasion of inaugurating Jehu at Ramoth Gilead: but I dare not determine precisely on a matter of such very high antiquity; and leave every one to form his own conclusions, from what has been here laid before him, as to the affinity of these kinds of buildings, and the derivation of their original plan from the East."

This is very ingenious, as well as amiably modest. All I would say on this obscure subject is comprised in the following particulars.

1. That Ramoth Gilead was a place of which the possession was disputed between the kings of Syria and of the ten tribes. See 1 Kings xxii. 3.

2. That it was *at this time* in possession of Israel, 2 Kings ix. 14.

3. That *before this time* they had been wont to strengthen fortified towns, in this country, with a tower of peculiar strength built in it, to which the inhabitants fled when they apprehended the town itself not tenable against an army, or no longer so. See Judges ix. 51, viii. 9.

4. As in the earlier ages in our own country strong places were wont to be built on eminences, and we have reason to believe were so in many other countries, so we find mention made of stairs, for going up to or coming down from the city of David, or Zion, the strongest part of the city of Jerusalem, at least after the Temple. Nehemiah iii. 15.

5. There can be nothing then improbable, not in the least, in Mr. King's supposition, that this ancient strong Jewish tower was built on an eminence, and entered into by a flight of steps.

6. Nor in the supposition, that in such towers, those that kept a city against dangerous enemies, as here against the Syrians, might hold their councils, in which

it was requisite that the principal captains should always be present.

7 The inaugurating or proclaiming their kings was wont to be in the most public places, and with solemn music, 1 Kings i. 40.

8. No place then could be more natural than somewhere upon, or on the top of the steps ascending the most elevated part of the castle of Ramoth Gilead, in the court of which numbers of people may naturally be thought to be assembled, waiting for the result of the deliberations of the officers of the army, consulting about the best way of defending the city against the Syrians, in the absence of King Joram.

The brevity of the ancient Jewish histories necessarily leaves many circumstances unmentioned, which, at that time, might very well be passed over in neglect, and which we must supply in the best manner we are able.

Here it may not be improper to add three other particulars, in which the accounts of sacred history agree with Mr. King's account of our old English castles, and may be illustrated by it.

The one is, that sometimes there was in an old Jewish tower of defence, or castle, a smaller building, considerably stronger than the larger, answerable to the *keeps* in our ancient English castles. So Judges ix. 46, in the tower of Shechem, belonging to that town, which town was itself capable of making some resistance to an enemy, was a very strong hold, to which the people fled when they gave up defending the tower.

The second is, that this strongest inner building, though comparatively small, might have several rooms in it, as the tower in fact appears to have had, in which Jehu was sitting in council. *When thou comest thither*, said Elisha to the young Prophet, *look out there Jehu the son of Jehoshaphat, the son of Nimshi, and go in, and make him arise up from among his brethren, and carry him to an inner chamber*, or chamber in a chamber: *then take a box*

of oil and pour it on his head, &c. And the Prophet did accordingly.* So the *keep* at Connisborough had three rooms, one within the other.

A third thing is, that such an inner, stronger tower might somehow or other be connected with one or more idols, by having a temple within it, some room in it appropriated to idolatrous worship; or might, as to the whole of it, be committed to the patronage and protection of such or such an idol; or might be used for the safe keeping of the precious things devoted to this or that deity, and its treasures: so Mr. King found a niche in each of the two inner rooms of the keep of Connisborough castle, which seemed to him to be designed for some of the deities of our Saxon forefathers; and in like manner the strong hold of the tower of Shechem had somehow or other a relation to Baal Berith,† Judges ix. 46. *When all the men of the tower of Shechem heard that*, that the city was taken, and that they had begun to demolish it, and appeared resolved entirely to ruin it, *they entered into an hold of the house of the god Berith.*

These are circumstances of resemblance that engage attention.

OBSERVATION XLII.

OF THEIR WINTER AND SUMMER HOUSES.

But to come to a conclusion; there is a distinction made in the Prophets between *winter* and *summer* houses, Jer. xxxvii. 22, Amos iii. 15.‡

The Russian princes used to have their winter and summer palaces: that nation having had many of the Eastern usages, and even much of their dress, before the new reg-

* 2 Kings ix. 2—11. † A Syrian idol.

‡ "What the Prophets say here may be understood of the different apartments in the same house; thus in vulgar Arabic they say, *Beet al sebeer, beet al esreer, beet al chitta, beet al serf.*" Dr. Russell's MS. note.

ulations of Peter the Great; but the winter and the summer houses of the Prophets hardly differed so much from each other as the Russian, I imagine. Probably the account Dr. Shaw gives* of the country seats about Algiers, though not applied by him to the illustration of these texts, may better explain this affair. "The hills and vallies round about Algiers are all over beautified with gardens and country seats, whither the inhabitants of better fashion retire, during the heat of the summer season. They are little white houses, shaded with a variety of fruit trees, and evergreens; which, besides the shade and retirement, afford a gay and delightful prospect toward the sea. The gardens are all of them well stocked with melons, fruit, and potherbs of all kinds; and, what is chiefly regarded in these hot climates, each of them enjoys a great command of water,"† &c.

These are the houses used for retirement from the heat, they might with the greatest propriety then be called summer houses. They are built in the open country, and are small, though belonging to people of fashion, and as such they explain in the most simple manner the words of Amos, *I will smite the winter house*, the palaces of the great in fortified towns; *with the summer house*, the small houses of pleasure used in the summer, to which any enemy can have access; *and the houses of ivory shall perish*, those remarkable for their magnificence; *and the great houses shall have an end, saith the* LORD; those that are distinguished by their amplitude, as well as richness, built as they are in their strongest places, yet shall all perish like their country seats.

These country seats, this writer tells us,‡ are taken out of those plains of the Hadjoute and the Metijiah,

* P. 54.

† To which account may be added, from Thevenot, p. 275, part i, that some of these country houses about Tunis are called *bardes*, from a Morisco word which signifies *cold*, because of the fresh air about them.

‡ Shaw, p. 51.

which he elsewhere describes; and informs us, in another place,* that the locusts of 1724 and 1725, which made their first appearance toward the latter end of March, and were prodigiously increased in numbers by the middle of April, began in May gradually to disappear, and retired into the Metijiah and other adjacent plains, where they deposited their eggs, which were hatched in June. These swarms put off their nympha state, he tells us, in about one month, and soon after were dispersed. This retiring in May into the Metijiah, a place full of gardens, and consequently of hedges or walls, while the rest of the country, used for feeding of cattle and as arable lands, is all open without any enclosures whatsoever, in which point the Holy Land does and did resemble it, as I shall remark in a succeeding chapter, may, possibly, explain the words of the Prophet Nahum, ch. iii. 17, *Thy captains*, are, *as the great grasshoppers*, or locusts, as the word is allowed to signify, *which camp in the hedges in the cold day: but when the sun ariseth, they flee away, and their place is not known where they are.*

Mr. Lowth, in his comment, supposes the fleeing away of these insects signifies their shunning the heat of the sun; and it has been queried whether the words *cold day* do not mean the night.† Had St. Jerom, in whose time the locusts once visited Judea‡ in such numbers as to cover the country, and afterward to produce a pestilence there, by their being cast up on the shore after being drowned in the sea, made such curious observations as a modern philosopher would have done, this place had been perfectly explained; and a fact in particular ascertained, of which Dr. Shaw speaks doubtingly,§ that is, whether the locusts appear in the Holy Land at the same time of the year as in Barbary, which is the spring. What Jerom has said, however, may correct the mistake concerning their shunning the heat of the sun, which on the contrary cheers them,

* Shaw, p. 187.

† Vide Poli Syn. in loc.

‡ Vide Hieron. in Joel, c. ii.

§ P. 190.

and is necessary to enable them to use their wings with liveliness and activity ;* a fact which is confirmed by le Bruyn.†

Dr. Shaw speaks doubtingly of the time in which the locusts appear in the Holy Land, and St. Jerom is silent upon the point ; but there are some passages in the *Gesta Dei per Francos*‡ which determine that they appear there, at the same time that they do in Barbary. For Fulcherius Carnotensis tells us there, that an infinite number of locusts came from Arabia, in the year 1114, to the country about Jerusalem, and destroyed the corn at a terrible rate for some days, in the months of April and May ; and that an infinite multitude of them, unusually destructive appeared there in May 1117. We may therefore venture to consider Dr. Shaw's account, as descriptive of what happened from time to time in the Holy Land : and consequently in the *day of cold* cannot mean the night, for, besides the impropriety of the expression, when the heat of the day comes they use their wings indeed, and move on, but others take their place ; whereas, the Prophet is speaking of their so fleeing away that their place is not known ; which can scarcely be understood of any thing less than their total disappearing.

On the other hand, it is not easy to suppose that the *day of cold* means the depth of winter, for they do not appear in the Holy Land then ; and though in Arabia, from whence Fulcherius supposes they came, there are thickets in some places, and it has been imagined that the locusts lay concealed in them during the winter,§ which may be thought to be their camping in the hedges in the cold day ; yet it is to be observed, that the word translated *hedges* seems rather to mean, precisely speaking,

* Deficientibus enim pennulis, et contractis frigore, etiam locusta considet ; et considet non in frugifera arbore, & in virentibus foliis, sed in sepe, sentibus virgultisque contexta : sive in maceria, fortuito hinc inde lapide composita. Com. Hier. in Nah. c. 3. v. 17.

† Tom. ii. p. 503, 504. ‡ P. 424—427. § Voy. le Bruyn, tom. ii. p. 50

the walls of a garden, than living fences, and consequently not easily applicable to thickets.

But can the months of April and May be called the *day of cold* in these countries? This may be thought a considerable difficulty. But when I observe, that the same word is made use of to signify that grateful cooling that Eglon sought, Judges iii. 20; that these gardens are the places to which the people of the Levant retire for cooling; and that April and May, the time in which, according to Fulcherius Carnotensis, the locusts appear in Palestine, they, at Allepo,* retire to their gardens; as also that the locusts are brought by hot winds, which may be collected from Dr. Shaw† and le Bruyn;‡ I am led to think the *day of cold* should rather have been translated *the day of cooling*, the time when people first retire to their summer houses, or country seats. And when, says the Prophet, *the sun ariseth, they flee away*, that is, as I suppose a like expression in James i. 11,§ is to be understood, when the summer advances, they are totally dispersed. And though the sea is now supposed,‖ by the Eastern people, to be in common their grave, yet that probably not being known to be the fact, in the time of Nahum, the Prophet says, upon occasion of their disappearing, *that their place is not known where they are.*

I will only further remark on this subject, that agreeably to their being called by the Prophet great locusts, it is observed by some naturalists, that those locusts that appear in such swarms are larger than the locusts that are seen at other times:¶ I mention this, because I do not remember to have seen any thing of this sort in the commentators.

* Russell, vol. i. p. 45, &c. † P. 134, and 187.

‡ Tom. ii. p. 152. § See ch. i. ‖ Shaw, p. 188.

¶ Lemery Dict. des Drogues dans l'art. Locusta. Those who are best acquainted with the Eastern countries, assure us, that there are several *varieties* of locusts. EDIT.

CHAP. IV.

RELATING TO THE DIET OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE EASTERN COUNTRIES.

OBSERVATION I.

OF THEIR BREAKFASTS AT ALEPPO.

Dr. Russell tells us of the Eastern people, that "as soon as they get up in the morning, they breakfast on fried eggs, cheese, honey, leban," &c.*

We are not to suppose that when Solomon says, *Wo to thee, O land, when thy king is a child, and thy princes eat in the morning*, Eccles. x. 75, that he means absolutely all kind of eating; but feasting, the indulging themselves such length of time in eating, and drinking proportionably of wine, so as improperly to abridge the hours that should be employed in affairs of government, and perhaps to disqualify themselves for a cool and dispassionate judgment of matters.†

This is confirmed by the following words: *Blessed art thou, O land, when thy king is the son of nobles, and thy princes eat in due season, for strength and not for drunkenness*, ver. 17 They may with propriety eat in a morning, bread, honey, milk, fruit, which in summer is a common breakfast with them,‡ but it would be wrong then to drink wine as freely as in the close of the day.

Wine being forbidden the Mohammedans by their religion, and only drank by the more licentious among them, in a more private manner,§ it is not to be expected to ap-

* Vol. i. p. 166.

† See Prov. xxxi. 4, 5, which is to be understood something after the same manner: wine certainly not being absolutely to be forbidden to princes.

‡ Russell, vol. i. p. 166. § Ibid 183

pear to their breakfasts; but it is used by others, who are not under such restraints, in the morning, as well as in their other repasts.

So Dr. Chandler tells us, in his Travels in Asia Minor: "In this country, on account of the heat, it is usual to rise with the dawn. About daybreak we received from the French consul, a Greek with a respectable beard, a present of grapes, the clusters large and rich, with other fruits, all fresh gathered. We had, besides, bread and coffee for breakfast, and good wines, particularly one sort, of an exquisite flavour, called muscadel."*

If they drank then wine at all in a morning, it ought to be, according to the royal Preacher, in small quantities, for strength, not for drunkenness.

The Eastern people, Arabians and Turks both, are observed to eat very fast, and, in common, without drinking;† but when they feast, and use wine, they begin with fruit and sweetmeats and drinking wine, and they sit long at table:‡ Wo to the land whose princes so eat in a morning, eating after this manner a great variety of things, and slowly, as they do when feasting, and prolonging the time with wine. So the prophet Isaiah, in like manner, says, ch. v. 11, *Wo unto them that rise up early in the morning, that they may follow strong drink, that continue until night, until wine inflame them.* Such appears to be the view of Solomon here.

If great men will indulge themselves in the pleasures of the table and of wine, it certainly should be in the evening, when public business is finished.

* P. 18. † Egmont and Heyman, vol. ii. p. 55.

‡ Sir John Chardin, tome iii. p. 86, &c. gives an account of an Eastern feast, at which he was present, which lasted from eleven o'clock in the forenoon, until three in the afternoon, after which was a magnificent desert.

As in Mohammedan countries there are no places of public entertainment, such as plays, balls, masquerades, &c. the baths excepted, they supply the lack of these with feasts and entertainments, the women with the women, and the men with the men, choosing sometimes the *whole day* for such feasts, and at other times the *whole night*. This information I received from a very intelligent Mohammedan, from the kingdom of Fez. Edit.

OBSERVATION II.

OF THEIR MEALS, EARLY RISING, &c.

THE people of the East rise early, according to the preceding Observation, and they also dine very early; and trifling as this observation seems, it may, possibly, be of some use in explaining a passage of Scripture which has occasioned a good deal of difficulty.

"As soon as they get up in the morning, they breakfast on fried eggs, cheese, honey, leban, &c. About eleven o'clock in the forenoon, in winter, and rather earlier in summer, they dine. They sup early, that is, about five o'clock in the winter, and six in the summer, in much the same manner that they dine; and in winter, as they often visit one another, and sit up late, they have a collation of kennafy,* or other sweet dishes. In the summer, their breakfast commonly consists of fruits; and besides dinner and supper, they often, within the compass of the day, eat watermelons, cucumbers, and other fruits, according to the season."

This is Dr. Russell's account,† to which I would add, that Dr. Chandler, in his Travels, explains what is meant by rising early, for he tells us,‡ that on account of the heat, it is usual there to rise with the dawn.

They dine early: at latest, it seems, at eleven, and earlier in proportion to the earliness of their rising, in summer; perhaps at ten, or a little after: their supper, we are expressly told, is an hour later in summer than in winter; it is natural to suppose the like difference of an

* A mixture of flour and water, so prepared as to have the appearance of a number of threads. This is mixed with butter and honey, and baked in the oven. Russell's Description of Aleppo, p. 107. A kind of vermicelli, I should suppose. HARMER.

I dined once with a Turkish captain of janisaries from Ismail, at whose table a dish like the above made a part of the first course: but I found it a very unpalatable kind of food. It was very strongly acidulated. EDIT

† Vol. i. p. 166—176. ‡ Travels in Asia, p. 18.

hour too, as to the times of their dining in summer and winter.

And strange as these arrangements may seem to our modern late risers, so late as two hundred years ago, eleven was the time of dining in England.

But to return to the East. If they now dine, when they rise early, between ten and eleven, the ancient Jews, if their customs were, in this respect, like those of the other inhabitants of these countries, dined at the like early hour. If they did, then the first time of eating of the paschal sacrifices, in the daytime, after eating the paschal lamb in the night, must have been as early as between ten and eleven in the forenoon, for they rose very early then, as early as in the heat of the summer.

Such at least, is the account that is given us by Dr. Lightfoot,* one of our greatest masters in Jewish learning, from their ancient books. "On the 15th day of the month," the day on which our LORD was crucified, "was an holy day, the first day of the feast, wherein they made ready their chagigah, with which they feasted together for joy of the feast. That is worth our noting,† every day they swept the ashes off the altar at the time of cockcrowing, only on the day of expiation they did it at midnight, and on the three feasts they did it after the first watch. A little after, in the three feasts when infinite numbers of Israelites assembled, and numberless sacrifices were offered, they swept the ashes off the altar, just after the first watch; for by cockcrowing the court was crowded with Israelites." He goes on to observe there, that he made no scruple of rendering the Hebrew words קריאת גבר by cockcrowing, "although in the very place alleged it is under controversy, whether it signifies the cockcrowing, or the proclamation of the sagan, or ruler of the Temple, viz. that proclamation mentioned, "The sagan saith unto them, Go and see whether the time for

* Works, vol ii. p. 615.

† From a Jewish treatise called Joma, fol. 20.

slaying the sacrifices be at hand; if it were time, then he that was sent out to see, returned with this answer, The day begins to break," &c. He further remarks, that let the words be taken which way they will, it is clear that the people were assembled together before morning light, and the sacrifices preparing for slaughter, by being carefully examined, &c.

Rising so very early, as according to Lightfoot's account, the Jewish people in general did, and more especially, we must suppose the zealots did, they must have wanted their dinner by ten o'clock, eating, as the Eastern people do, their first collation as soon as they rose; but what they then lived upon were their peaceofferings, or the *chagigah*, as they termed it, for those sacrifices, which are called by St. John the Passover, ch. xviii. 28, being a necessary part of the solemnity termed the Passover, though not that particular sacrifice, denominated the paschal lamb, those sacrifices, I say, being slain, "those parts of them that pertained to the altar or to the priests were given to them; the rest of the beasts was shared amongst the owners that had offered it, and from thence proceeded their feastings together, and their great mirth and rejoicings, according to the manner of that festival."*

If such was the state of things, they must have wanted by nine in the morning to finish the affair of our LORD, that they might prepare for dining on the Passover peaceofferings which had been killed that morning very early in the Temple. It is evident, from Lev. vii. 15, 16, that the flesh of some peaceofferings was to be consumed on the day in which they were sacrificed; as to the rest, they were to be eaten that day, and might be eaten also the next, but no further; if any remained to the morning of the third day, it was to be consumed by fire.

The rising from sleep then, on the day in which our LORD was crucified, was early, for the purpose of preparing for the solemnities of rejoicing in feasting before the

* In the same page

LORD that first day of this festival; and also of preparing part of the peaceofferings to be eaten with joy on the Sabbath, which happened now to be the second day of the Passover solemnity, in which they were to dress none of their provisions. It was a day then in which they had much to do, and no wonder they were pressing that the business of our LORD might be despatched.

In the case of St. Paul, *more than forty men had bound themselves by an oath, that they would neither eat nor drink until they had killed him*, Acts xxiii. 21; it does not appear that the chief men of the Jews, at the time of our LORD's death, had bound themselves by a similar oath: but it is natural to believe, that the like vehemence of temper disposes them to despatch that affair, before they sat down to feast on the peaceofferings of the day.*

It is for this reason, I presume, that St. John tells us in his Gospel, ch. xix. 14, that it was about the sixth hour of the preparation of the Passover, when Pilate delivered JESUS up to the will of the Jews: not, I apprehend, the sixth hour of that day, the sixth hour after the rising of the sun that day, but the sixth hour of the preparation of the Passover peaceofferings, which began, according to Lightfoot, from the time of cockcrowing; and, without controversy, before the day dawned, and might therefore very well agree with St. Mark's account,† of its being about the third hour of the day, when he was led away to be crucified. This only supposes the preparation for the sacrificing these peaceofferings began about three o'clock of the morning, as we reckon the hours, but, if Lightfoot be right, might be earlier, since cockcrowing was the whole third watch of the night; from midnight until about three in the morning.

* So Bishop Gardiner was so anxious to hear of the death of Ridley and Latimer, that he refused to dine until he heard of their being dead; though no mention is made in history, I think, of his having bound himself by oath, not to do it.

† Ch. xv. 25.

This appears to be the most simple and natural solution of a difficulty which has perplexed many of the learned, arising from a seeming contradiction between St. Mark and St. John, as to the time of the beginning of our LORD's crucifixion. St. Mark had said nothing of this day's being a day of preparation before the Sabbath, when he mentions the third hour, nor for several verses after, he must therefore have meant the hour of the day; but St. John mentions the preparation of the Passover immediately before he speaks of the sixth hour, which therefore expresses as naturally the sixth hour of the preparation, if not more so, as the hour from the sun's rising.

Some learned men have supposed St. John might reckon the hours after the Roman manner, and so the sixth hour would mean the sixth hour from midnight. The learned and very accurate Dr. Ward, of Gresham college, was of this opinion. The very learned and ingenious Dr. Lardner would not allow of this, as no notice is given of such a way of reckoning by St. John, and as it was not practised by other Jewish writers, who wrote for the information of the Romans and Greeks, as well as John, particularly by neither of the other three Evangelists, nor by Josephus.* What Lardner has said, and which I have

* The solution of Dr. Ward, though a person of exquisite learning, *is* the more unsatisfactory, as the Romans appear, at least very frequently, if not most commonly, to have reckoned as the Jews did, from the sunrising, for the hours of the day, as they did from its setting for those of the night, the Romans of that age, as appears from Horace, Sat. lib. 1, sat. 5, l. 23—25, where the dauphin editor refers to the 3d satire of Persius in proof of the same way of reckoning; Suetonius affords us several proofs of it.

The passage in Horace, referred to by Mr. Harmer, is the following;

——————— *quarta* vix demum exponimur *hora*.
Ora manusque tuâ lavimus Feronia, lymphâ.
Millia tum *pransi* tria repimus.—

"It was the *fourth hour* before we got out of the boat, and having washed our hands and face in thy fountain, O Feronia, we *dined*, and afterward crept on about three miles."

The Romans certainly computed the hours from sunrising, allowing twelve to the day, and the like number to the night, which were longer or shorter, according to the different seasons of the year. It is plain, therefore, that at the time of the equinox, when the sun rises at six, their *fourth* hour must have answered to our *ten a'clock*. See Dr. Watson on the place

EDIT.

just now been repeating, appears, it must be owned, very strong; but I beg leave to observe, that when St. John says *it was about the sixth hour, when the woman of Samaria came to draw water at Jacob's well,** that circumstance seems somewhat to favour Ward's hypothesis, though it is by no means decisive. For I have elsewhere shown, that the Eastern women are said, by those that have travelled in those countries, to fetch water only in the evening or the morning; to which may be added, that the Scriptures themselves speak of the evening as the time women were wont to go out to draw water, Gen. xxiv. 11. *And he made his camels to kneel down without the city, by a well of water, at the time of the evening, even the time that women go out to draw water.* According to this, the time of our LORD's being at Jacob's well should be in the evening, and it being said to be then about the sixth hour, St. John must have reckoned, not according to the Jewish, but the Roman manner of reckoning, unless the woman of Samaria went at a time unusual both in ancient and modern times.† It might, possibly, however happen.

I mention this circumstance, because I do not recollect that either of these gentlemen have taken notice of it in arguing this matter, and I have neither of them at hand to consult on this occasion, but I will not pretend to decide the point. It is not at all necessary, I apprehend, to solve the seeming contrariety, between St. Mark and St. John, as to the time of fastening our LORD to the cross.

The other passages of St. John's Gospel, in which mention is made of the hours, will in no wise be thought, I believe, to determine, whether he made use of the *Roman* or *Jewish* method of reckoning them.

I have since observed in the collections of Wolfius,‡ that the explanation which I have given has been propos-

* Ch. iv. 6, 7. † I shall have occasion to take notice of this circumstance of the time of her coming to the well, under another article.

‡ Tome i. p. 979.

ed heretofore to the world; my reader, however, has it here as it presented itself to my mind, in thinking over the several circumstances I have been reciting, and with such additional considerations and variations, as perhaps, may not be displeasing.

OBSERVATION III.

OF THE DIFFERENT ARTICLES USED FOR FOOD.

THERE is such a remarkable difference between the account the sacred historians give us, of the provisions that were brought to David when he fled from Absalom, and by the Israelites that came to make him king at Hebron, as seems to me to deserve a little more attention than is wont to be bestowed upon it: perhaps a more exact comparing them together may afford some growing light into the affairs of those times, especially if we join some modern acts of civility, which travellers have related, to these of more ancient date.

In 1 Chron. xii. 40, mention is made of the things that were carried to David at Hebron; in 2 Sam. xvii. 28, 29, of those which he received on the other side Jordan. The lists follow:

1 Chron. xii. 40.	2 Sam. xvii. 28, 29.
Figs; Raisins; Wine; Oil; Oxen; Sheep; Flour or meal.*	Sheep; Flour or meal; Beds; Bowls; Earthen vessels; Wheat; Barley; Something that was parched; Beans; Lentiles; Butter; Honey, and something belonging to kine.

The reader may suppose that this catalogue from Chronicles is incomplete, as our translators have mentioned bread and meat. But the Septuagint seems to be

* I say flour or meal, for though our translators render it *meal* in Chronicles, and *flour* in Samuel, the original word is the same in both places, and would not have been different in our version.

more just, which understands the second word as signifying *food* in general,* and certainly it does not signify *flesh* in particular; and the first as meaning not a noun substantive, *bread*, but a pronoun and preposition *to them:* the Hebrew words signifying these two very different things being so alike, as easily to be mistaken one for the other. "They brought *them* on asses, &c. victuals; meal, cakes of figs," &c.

However, let the list of particulars be drawn up one way or the other, they are so different, though the cases in general are so much alike, that one would imagine the variation must be occasioned, partly by the difference of the seasons, the one in the spring, the other in autumn; and partly by the different circumstances in which the attendants found themselves; in one case, extremely destitute and tired; in the other, at ease, and even in a state of joy. The difference can hardly be attributed to differing customs, or difference of productions, in the two districts from which the provisions were brought: the neighbourhood of Hebron, and from thence all along to Issachar, Zebulun and Naphtali, in the one case, and the country beyond Jordan in the other.

To these two catalogues it may not be improper to subjoin a third, taken from the Sieur Roland Frejus's relation of a voyage from the coast of Africa into an inland part of Mauritania,† in which he has given us an account of the provisions presented to him by the Moors and Arabs in a journey of eight days; after which I shall make some observations on the whole. The particulars, as to Frejus, were as follow.

* it is very likely that the present word לחם lechem *bread*, stood originally in the text להם lahem *to them:* so it was in the copy whence the Septuagint took their text, ἐφεγον αυτοις, they brought *unto them*. As the ה and the ח are so nearly similar להם *to them*, might be readily mistaken for לחם lechem *bread*. EDIT.

† His journey from the coast into the country was in the latter end of April, A. D. 1666.

Partridges, - - -	p. 25.
Other fowls, - - -	p. 25, 37, 51.
Milk, - - - -	p. 26, 32, 47, 53.
Butter, - - - -	p. 26, 37, 47, 51, 53.
Bread, - - - -	p. 26, 47, 53.
Eggs, - - - -	p. 32, 47, 53.
Beans, - - - -	p. 32, 37
New bread, - - -	p. 32, 37.
Cheese, - - - -	p. 37, 47
Cream, - -	p. 37.
Boiled salads,* - -	p. 37.
Couple of fat sheep,	p. 47, 51.
Raisins, - - -	p. 47.

Beans, according to Dr. Shaw, are usually full podded the latter end of February, or beginning of March, and continue during the whole spring; which, after they are boiled and stewed with oil and garlick, are the principal food of persons of all distinctions.† Frejus's voyage was, accordingly, in April, who was twice presented with beans. David's flight from Absalom appears, for the same reason, to have been in the spring. The lentiles sent to David are another proof.

After Frejus arrived at the capital city, the Moorish King sent him, we are told,‡ along with other things, two great vessels of butter, two of honey, and two of sweet *oil;* not one word of oil, when travelling among the country people, but *butter* is daily mentioned. This observation tends to make us less surprised that *butter* only is spoken of as given to David in the land beyond Jordan, and not *oil:* it being spring time, butter was most plentiful, and perhaps most pleasant.

Oil, and *figs*, as well as *raisins*, were brought to Hebron, from the country people of Galilee, when Israel as-

* What the word is in the French I know not, the term used in the English is *odd;* what he meant is not distinctly known, but perhaps something eaten as a salad by the French, but boiled in the East, was the thing intended.

† P. 110 ‡ P. 70

sembled to recognise David as king over the whole nation; is it not then probable, that that assembly was held in autumn, when all these things had been newly gathered in, and were in the greatest plenty?

If the solemn reception of David as their king, by all Israel, was in autumn, then Saul must have been slain in the spring, since his death was seven years and a half before, according to 1 Chron. iii. 4, 2 Samuel ii. 11, chap. v. 5.

Is it not reasonable to suppose, that the ancient Jews, in general, dried their grapes, their figs, their dates, &c. in such quantities, as to last them through the winter only, till the spring food came to hand, and were not, in common,* solicitous to preserve them all the year round, in order to have a more grateful variety of food? Such seems to be, at present, the inattention of the country people of Mauritania to the luxury of continual variety, since we meet with no account of figs or dates in the whole eight days' journey of Captain Frejus, and but once of raisins, all which, however, might be cured in those countries in sufficient numbers, and would keep very well from one autumn to another.

Wine, which is wanted, and was used at all times of the year, was sent, according to Josephus,† who must be very inaccurate and loose in his account of the reception of David at Mahanaim, or the copies of the history of Samuel more large than those we have at present; or, which is the most probable supposition, that many of the earthen vessels which are mentioned were understood by him to have been filled with wine, and not some empty pieces of pottery only. Wine, it is well known, is kept in the East, to this day, in jars of earth. Ziba, it is certain, thought wine highly proper to be presented in such a sea-

* Some doubtless were preserved; so Ziba presented King David at this time with an hundred bunches of raisins; 2 Sam. xvi 1; and David furnished himself with them and with figs, when, in the spring, he was engaged in continual expeditions of a warlike nature. 1 Sam. xxx. 12.

† Antiq. lib. 7, cap. 9, § 8

son, and though Barzillai and his associates had not like selfish ends to answer as Ziba had in view, when with great adulation he said, *The asses be for the king's household to ride on, and the bread and summer fruit for the young men to eat, and the wine, that such as be faint in the Wilderness may drink*, 2 Sam. xvi. 2; yet they could not be insensible that wine must be extremely wanted by people faint and weary, nor is it to be supposed they were without large quantities of it by them.

There is so much stress laid by the prophetic historian on the people's being *weary and thirsty in the Wilderness*, 2 Sam. xvii. 29; and its being expressly represented by him as if Barzillai and his associates were particularly attentive to these circumstances, *For they said, the people are hungry, and weary and thirsty in the Wilderness*, that it should seem refreshments for the thirsty were meant by one or more articles in this catalogue, or that it is imperfect: and that if the word *beds* is to be understood of things few in number, and those of the *most honorable kind*, as Josephus and the Septuagint understood the term,* it should seem some other accommodations for rest were provided, of a meaner sort, whether distinctly mentioned, or not.

The nature of some of the things carried to David, when beyond Jordan, seems to intimate, that that prince, and the people with him, were then in some sort encamped in the Wilderness, David not being at that time sufficiently assured of the fidelity of that part of his country, to venture into the cities, at least it was expected it would be so. They would not otherwise have carried him beds, we have reason to think, but the people of Mahanaim would have accommodated him in their own houses. But this appears not to have lasted long. He and his people were before the battle in Mahanaim.

* The Alexandrian copy of the Septuagint has δεκα κοιτας και αμφιτατους, *ten couches* and *sofas*, or carpets for *reposing on*, ornamented with coverings of *tapestry*, the figures of which were equally evident on *both* sides. Αμφιτατους, *tapes utrimque villosus*. *Prom. Concord.* EDIT.

The reason why such things were not carried to Hebron, when David was recognised king over all the tribes, seems to have been, that the ancient Israelites,* like the present Bedouin Arabs,† made no difficulty, on occasion of sleeping on the ground, wrapped up in their outward garments,‡ and their faces covered from the night air, and Israel were then in a state of ease and joy; but the people along with David were apprehended to be greatly fatigued, and worn out with a hurrying journey.§

One observation here we can hardly avoid making, and that is the striking difference between both the Jewish catalogues, and account given of the provision presented to Frejus, as to fowls and eggs. We find no fowls or eggs in the first; in the other, very frequently. Are we to suppose there were few or no tame fowls kept among the Jews in those early times? few or no eggs eaten but what they might accidentally find in the nests of birds or wildfowl? Whatever might be the cause of it, it is certain there is a great silence as to these matters in the Old Testament; whereas eggs and fowls are extremely common now in all parts of the Levant.‖ But I observe, that neither are *kids* mentioned in either the ancient or modern catalogues, though very common in both ages.

To finish this article I would observe, that the mention of honey in 2 Sam. xvii, in no wise weakens the supposition that this flight of David was in the spring, though our beehives are seldom taken up till the end of summer, since Dr. Russell describes the country about Aleppo as

* 2 Sam. xviii. 3, 4. † Voy. dans la Palestine, par de la Roque, p. 176.

‡ Exod. xxii. 27, Deut. xxiv. 13.

§ So, according to Biddulph, some of their Eastern friends at Damascus, Jews and Greeks, furnished the English merchants, with whom he travelled to Jerusalem, with *beds* as well as provisions, as supposing their wearied bodies stood in need of such refreshments. Oxford Collect. of Voy. and Trav. vol. i. p. 809.

‖ They were the chief eatables that Dr. Richard Chandler and his companions were able to procure, in their travels in Asia Minor, as appears in many places.

covered with flowers in the spring, but in a manner wholly unadorned with them in the summer, the ground being then almost entirely bare and parched up. When flowers and the blossoms of the trees ceased, it must have been no improper time to take the honey away. No wonder then that it appears in the catalogue of spring provision, and is not mentioned in 1 Chron. xii.

OBSERVATION IV

FLESH MEAT SPARINGLY USED IN THE EAST.

THOUGH *flesh meat* is not wont to be eaten by these nations so frequently, as with us in the West, or in such quantities, yet people of rank, who often have it in their repasts, are fond of it, and even those in lower life, when it can be procured.*

Our translation then does not express the spirit of the Mosaic precept, relating to the super-inducing a second wife in the lifetime of the first, Exod. xxi. 10. *Her food, her raiment, and her duty of marriage, shall he not diminish;* in the original it is, *her flesh, her raiment,* &c. meaning that he should not only afford her a sufficient quantity of food as before, but of the same quality. The feeding her with bread, with herbs, with milk, &c. in quantities not only sufficient to maintain life, but as much as numbers of poor people contented themselves with would not do, if he took away the *flesh*, and others of the more agreeable articles of food he had before been wont to allow her.

Accordingly, the Septuagint translates that word by the Greek term τα δεοντα, which means food *suitable* to the man's rank and circumstances.

* This appears by the longing of Israel for it in the Wilderness, Numb. xi. 4, and the regret they expressed at the remembrance of the fleshpots of Egypt, Exod. xvi. 3. So de Tott tells us, part 2, p. 51, that the Crim Tartars do not habitually use meat, though they are very fond of it, from sparingness, or, as he styles it, avarice

OBSERVATION V.

DIFFERENT KINDS OF HIGHLY SEASONED DISHES.

Our version of Gen. xxvii. 4, 7, 9, 14, 17, 31, may be presumed to have given us the true sense there of the word translated *savoury*, though it is undoubtedly of a more large and less determinate signification.

That it is of a more large signification, is evident from hence, that a kindred word expresses the tasting of *honey*, 1 Sam. xiv. 43; and the taste of *manna*, which tasted like *fresh oil*, Numb. xi. 8, and like wafers made with *honey*, Exod. xvi. 31. These two last passages are easily reconciled, though honey and fresh oil are by no means like each other in taste, when we consider the cakes of the ancients were frequently a composition of honey, and oil, and flour; consequently, in tasting like one of these wafers or thin cakes, it might be said to resemble the taste of both, of oil mingled with honey.

The word מטעמים *matâ mmeem*, then translated *savoury*, in a confined sense, signifies generally whatever is gustful, or pleasing to the taste, whether by being salt and spicy, which the English word *savoury* means, or pleasant by its *sweetness*; or by being *acidulated*.

However it is very probable, that in this account of what Isaac desired, it means *savoury*, properly speaking, since though one might imagine, that in so hot a climate, and among people wont to observe so much abstemiousness in their diet, food highly seasoned should not be in request; yet the contrary is known to be fact.

Almost all the dishes of the people of Aleppo, Dr. Russell informs us, "are either greasy with fat, or butter, pretty highseasoned with salt and spices; many of them made sour with verjuice, pomegranate, or lemon juice; and onions and garlick often complete the seasoning."*

* Vol. i. p. 115. Dr. Shaw gives us a similar account, p. 231.

As it was something of the venison kind Isaac desired, it is very probable, the dish he wished for was of the savoury sort.

Some of their dishes of meat, however, are of a sweet nature. "A whole lamb, stuffed with rice, almonds, raisins, pistaches, &c. and stewed, is a favourite dish with them."*

It was very just then, in our translators, to render this word by a more extensive term in Prov. xxiii. 3, *When thou sittest to eat with a ruler, consider diligently what is before thee*, v. 1. *Be not desirous of his dainties, for they are deceitful meat*, v. 3. It is translated in much the same manner in v. 6, dainty meats.

I would observe further, as to this subject, that there is a great propriety in Solomon's describing these dainty meats as very much appropriated to the tables of rulers, or a few others of the great, since the food of the common people of Aleppo, a large and rich commercial city, is very simple and plain; for Russell tells us, "*bread, dibbs*, the juice of grapes thickened to the consistence of honey, *leban*, coagulated sour milk, butter, rice, and a very little mutton, make the chief of their food in winter; as rice, bread, cheese, and fruits, do in the summer."†

De la Roque gives much the same account of the manner of living of the Arabs, whose way of life very much resembles that of the patriarchs: "roast meat being almost peculiar to the tables of their emirs or princes, and lambs or kids stewed whole, and stuffed with bread, flour, mutton fat, raisins, salt, pepper, saffron, mint, and other aromatic herbs."‡

I would only add further, with respect to the meat Isaac desired, that perhaps his desiring Esau to take his bow and arrows, and to kill him some venison; an antelope, or some such wild animal, when a kid from his own flock would, as appears from the event, have done as well, might

* Russell, vol. i. p. 172, &c. † Vol. i. p. 174

‡ Voy. dans la Pal. ch. 14, p. 197.

as much arise from the sparingness natural to those that live this kind of life, together with the pleasure he proposed to himself from this testimony of filial affection from a beloved son, as from the recollection of some peculiar poignant flavour he had formerly perceived in eating the flesh of wild animals, though now his organs of taste were so much impaired as not to perceive the difference. So Dr. Shaw observes, that "the Arabs rarely diminish their flocks, by using them for food, but live chiefly upon bread, milk, butter, dates, or what they receive in exchange for their wool."*

OBSERVATION VI.

HOW THE FLESH OF SACRIFICES WAS DISPOSED OF.

THE longest time allowed, in Lev. vii. 15, 18, for the eating the flesh of any of the Mosaic sacrifices, was the day after that in which they were killed, the eating it on the third day is declared to be an abomination. This precept may be thought to have been unnecessary in so warm a climate, where we may suppose by the third day it might be ready to putrefy, and there could be no great occasion to forbid the Jews to eat decayed meat. But we are to remember that drying meat is often practised in those hot countries; is sometimes practised as to flesh killed with a religious intention: and, on account of this management, the keeping the flesh of their sacrifices to the third day might be forbidden.

Every Mohammedan, that goes in pilgrimage to Mecca, is obliged, on a certain day, and at a certain place near there, to sacrifice a sheep.† He may, if he pleases, sacrifice more,‡ but he is under an obligation to kill one. Some of the flesh of these sheep they give to their friends; some to the ragged poor who come out of Mecca, and the adjacent country; and the rest they

* P. 169. † Pitts, p. 140. ‡ D'Herbelot, p. 62, art. Adha.

eat themselves. But they are not limited to any time for eating this sacred flesh, that I have any where observed; that it appears by the collections of d'Herbelot, that they often dry a good deal of this kind of flesh. Dhoulhegiah, the last month of the Arabic year, is, according to d'Herbelot, almost entirely consecrated to the performing certain solemnities and ceremonies, which are practised at Mecca, and the neighbouring mountain of Arafah. The tenth day, in particular, is called the *Festival of the Victim*, or Sacrifice, there being few Mohammedans who do not sacrifice one or more sheep that day.* The 11th, 12th, and 13th days are called *Taschrie*, in which they dry the flesh of these victims.†

I have elsewhere given an account of the Eastern way of drying their meat, and that it is said that so dried it will keep two years. Consequently, this sacred flesh may be frequently eaten in the deserts in their return, and even presented to their friends residing in their several countries, as a religious curiosity, as Pitts tells us, is done with the water of the Sacred Well in the temple of Mecca, which, though distributed in very small portions, on their return, is received with great care, and abundance of thanks.

The Mecca pilgrimage, and many of its ceremonies, are very well known to be of great antiquity, far more ancient than the time of Mohammed, and to be the remains of Arab heathenism. Something of the same kind might obtain as early as the time of Moses, and be the occasion of the prohibition. It would not have suited the genius of the Mosaic dispensation, to have allowed them to have dried the flesh of their peaceofferings, whether for thanksgiving, in consequence of a vow, or merely voluntary, and have afterward eaten the flesh very commonly in a sparing manner, or communicated only some small portion of it to their particular friends: their peaceofferings, were to

* Pitts, in the page just cited. † P. 951, art. Dhoulhegiah.

be eaten, on the contrary, with festivity, communicated to their friends with liberality, and bestowed on the poor with great generosity, that they might partake with them on these sacred repasts with joy before the LORD.* To answer these views, it became requisite to eat this flesh while it was fresh; and these considerations are sufficient to account for the precepts, without recurring to those moral and evangelical reasons that are assigned by the learned and devout Mr. Ainsworth for the command. How benevolent and cheerful the design of this institution!

OBSERVATION VII.

VINEGAR AND OIL TAKEN WITH BREAD.

WHEN Boaz is represented as having provided vinegar for his reapers, into which they might dip their bread,† and kindly invited Ruth to share with them in the repast, we are not to understand it of simple vinegar, but vinegar mingled with a small portion of oil, if modern managements in the Levant be allowed to be the most natural comment on those of antiquity.

For even the Algerines indulge their miserable captives with a small portion of oil to the vinegar they allow them with their bread, according to the account Pitts gives of the treatment he and his companions received from them, of which he complains with some asperity.

I have elsewhere cited this passage, but without considering it, as giving a full view of what the sacred historian is to be understood, I apprehend, to have expressed in short, and therefore shall here only say, that Pitts's allowance was nothing but a little vinegar, about five or six spoonsful, half a spoonful of oil, with a small quantity of black biscuit, and a pint of water a day, together with a few olives.‡

* Deut. xvi. 11. † Ruth ii. 14. ‡ P. 6

What the quality of the bread was, that the reapers of Boaz had, may be uncertain, but there is all imaginable reason to suppose the vinegar, into which they dipped it, was made more grateful by the addition of oil.

OBSERVATION VIII.

OF FURNISHING TRAVELLERS WITH WATER TO DRINK.

When our Lord said, *Whosoever shall give you a cup of water to drink, in my name,* because ye belong to Christ, *verily, I say unto you, he shall not lose his reward,** the general thought is plain to every reader; that no service performed to a disciple of Christ, out of love to his Master, though comparatively small, should pass away unrewarded; but we, in these more temperate climates, are sometimes ready to think that the instance our Lord mentions, is of so very trifling a nature, that it appears almost ludicrous. But it certainly would not appear so now to an inhabitant of the East, nor did it then, we have reason to believe, appear in that light to them, to whom he immediately made that declaration. A cup of cold water is to them a refreshment not unworthy of notice, though there are now, and were then refreshments that might be given of a very superior kind.

The furnishing travellers with water, is, at this time, thought a matter of such consideration, that many of the Eastern people have been at considerable expense to procure passengers that refreshment.

"The reader, as we proceed," says Dr. Chandler,† "will find frequent mention of fountains. Their number is owing to the nature of the country and the climate. The soil parched and thirsty, demands moisture to aid vegetation; and a cloudless sun, which inflames the air, requires for the people the verdure, shade and coolness, its agreeable attendants. Hence they occur not only in

* Mark ix. 41.

† Travels in Asia Minor, p. 20.

the towns and villages, but in the fields and gardens, and by the sides of the roads and of the beaten tracks on the mountains. Many of them are the useful donations of humane persons, while living; or have been bequeathed as legacies on their decease. The Turks esteem the erecting them as meritorious, and seldom go away, after performing their ablutions or drinking, without gratefully blessing the name and memory of the founder."

Then, after observing, that the method used by the ancients of obtaining the necessary supplies of water still prevails, which he describes as done by pipes, or paved channels, he goes on, "When arrived at the destined spot, it is received by a cistern with vent; and the waste current passes below from another cistern, often an ancient sarcophagus. It is common to find a cup of tin or iron hanging near, by a chain; or a wooden scoop with an handle, placed in a niche in the wall. The front is of stone or marble; and in some, painted and decorated with gilding, and with an inscription in Turkish characters in relievo."

The blessing the name and memory of the builder of one of these fountains shows, that a cup of water is, in those countries, by no means a despicable thing; there are, however, refreshments that might be given of a much superior quality. Such is milk; so when Sisera asked Jael for a little water to drink, because he was thirsty, she opened a bottle of milk, and gave him drink, Judges iv. 19. So the mother of an Eastern prince, among other instructions, bade him *Give strong drink to them that were ready to perish, and wine to those that were of heavy hearts*, Prov. xxxi. 6.

The giving a thirsty traveller also a watermelon, such as grow in great quantities on Mount Carmel, would be a much nobler refreshment than a cup of water. The inhabitants, Egmont and Heyman inform us,* speaking of Mount Carmel, "chiefly employ themselves in improving their

* Vol. ii. p. 12, 13.

gardens, where they have among other fruits, excellent melons, and pasteques, which, in goodness and taste, are not at all inferior to those of Naples and the West Indies. The latter are called, in America, watermelons, and very properly, consisting of little else than a rind and delicious water. The pulp of some is reddish, especially that part nearest the centre of the fruit, where they have also small seeds, the surface of which is blackish or reddish, and beneath it a white, soft, and palatable substance, and from whence a kind of oil is expressed, of great use in colds, inflammations, and cutaneous disorders. The melons which have a white pulp, are also of a very agreeable taste; but not so much esteemed as the other, probably more from prepossessions than any solid reason. Both, however, may supply the place of drink, as they dissolve in the mouth, quench the thirst, and are of a cooling quality.

If from the Lesser Asia we pass into Egypt, and the southern part of Arabia, under the conduct of Niebuhr, we shall find the providing water for the thirsty is considered as a work of considerable benevolence. "There were upon this mountain," he says, "three madsjils, or little reservoirs, which are always kept full of fine fresh water, for the use of passengers. These reservoirs, which are about two feet and a half square, and from five to seven feet high, are round or pointed at the top, of mason's work, having only a small opening in one of the sides, by which they pour water into them. Sometimes we find, near these places of Arab refreshment, a piece of a gourd shell, or a little scoop of wood. However, instead of trusting to such conveniences, travellers would do better to carry a cup with them, and even to have with them, in a long journey, a bardac, or vessel for water."* He often speaks of these erections in Arabia.

As to Egypt, he says, "Among the public buildings of Kahira, those houses ought to be reckoned, where they daily give water gratis to all passengers that desire it

* Voy. tome i. p. 274.

Some of these houses make a very handsome appearance; and those whose business it is to wait on passengers are to have some vessels of copper, curiously tinned, and filled with water, always ready on the window next the street."*

This is a further confirmation of the justness of considering the giving a cup of cold water as a benevolent action of some moment, though it is supposed by our LORD to be of the meaner kind.†

OBSERVATION IX.

DIFFERENT KINDS OF VEGETABLES ON WHICH THE POORER SORT FEED.

JOB speaks of some poor people, so severely oppressed with poverty, that they wanted bread; and fed on the wild herbs of the wilderness, particularly, according to our translation, on *mallows*. Biddulph saw poverty producing the like effect in his travels.

It will be sufficient to set down the two passages, the latter illustrating the former, at least as to one point.

Who cut up mallows by the bushes, and juniper roots for their meat. Job xxx. 4.

So Biddulph says, he "saw many poor people gathering mallows, and three leaved grass, and asked them what they did with it; and they answered, that it was all their

* P. 97.

† I may be allowed to add here, from the most authentic information, that in India the Hindoos go sometimes a great way to fetch water, and then boil it that it may not be hurtful to travellers who are hot; and after this stand from morning till night in some great road where there is neither pit nor rivulet, and offer it *in honor of their gods* to be drunk by the passengers. This necessary work of charity in these hot countries seems to have been practised among the more pious and humane Jews; and our LORD assures them, that if they do this *in his name*, they shall not lose their reward. This one circumstance of the Hindoos offering the water to the fatigued passengers *in honor of their gods*, is a better illustration of our LORD's words, than all the collections of Mr. Harmer on the subject. See the Asiatic Miscellany, vol. ii. p. 142, 4to. Calcutta, 1786. EDIT.

food; and that they boiled it, and did eat it. Then we took pity on them, and gave them bread, which they received very joyfully, and blessed God that there was bread in the world."* This was in Syria, not far from Aleppo.

Whether mallows was one of the herbs Job precisely meant may be doubted; it appears, however, to be a species of herb actually used as food by the very poor people of the East. And at the same time the joy they expressed, upon having a little bread given, shows that it was not any gustfulness in those herbs which they eat, which caused them to gather them, or the force of long established habit, but the extremity of want.

As Biddulph went to Jerusalem, some time before the translation of the Bible was undertaken by the command of King James I. the observation he made, of the poor people's eating mallows in Syria, might engage those learned men so to render the word used in that passage of the book of Job.

I have elsewhere taken notice of the different opinions of the learned, concerning the tree or shrub which our translators supposed was the juniper; and I expressed my regret that the knowledge of the natural history of the East is so imperfect: and as I have since remarked an article in d'Herbelot's Bibliotheque Orientale, which probably refers to this tree, I would here set it down, though unhappily the particular species of the tree is not thereby expressly determined.

"*Gadha* and *gadhat*, a sort of tree, nearly resembling the tamarisk, which grows in the sandy deserts. Camels are very fond of its leaves, which, nevertheless, are apt to give them the gripes. The wood of these trees is extremely proper to burn into charcoal, which has the property of long preserving fire: on which account it is carried into their cities, where there is a great sale for them.

* Collection of Voy. and Trav. from the library of the Earl of Oxford p. 807.

"Wolves very commonly lurk among these trees, which has given rise to a common saying among the Arabs, when they would prevent their camels eating the leaves of these trees, the wolf is near the gadha."*

This does not determine, whether this tree is a species of the juniper, or not; but it should seem to be meant in the Scriptures by that word which our version renders *juniper*. It grows in the deserts; its coals long retain fire; and it grows to a size capable of shading a person from the heat, since it is called a tree.

The other properties that are mentioned, are its affording food to camels, of which they are very fond, but which is apt to gripe them; and the frequent concealment of wolves among trees of this species; may make it still more easy, for those that travel with camels through the Eastern deserts, to determine whether the tree that answers this description of d'Herbelot, and that of the Scriptures, is the juniper, or not. And I would hope, it may not be long before some curious traveller may ascertain this matter.

I take no notice, here, of another supposed property of this tree, according to our version of Job xxx. 4, in which several other translations concur, and that is, that its roots are capable of being made use of for food. For I much question whether the roots of the juniper, or of any other tree in those deserts, can afford nourishment to the human body, on the one hand; and on the other, I would observe, that the interlineary translation of Arias Montanus supposes, that the meaning of the passage is, that they used the roots of the tree in question for fuel. And certainly the same Hebrew letters may as well signify the one as the other; that they used those roots for warming *themselves*, as for *bread*.†

The reason, I presume, that has inclined so many to understand the word as our translators have done, has

* P. 356.

† לחם lechem *bread*, being put for להם lahem *to themselves*, as has been supposed in a preceding instance, page 379, note. EDIT.

been, in part, the not knowing how far the roots of this tree of the deserts might be used for food, by these miserable outcasts from society; and, on the other hand, that they could not want fire in those sultry deserts, for the purpose of warming themselves. But as Irwin complains not unfrequently of the cold of the night, and sometimes of the day, in the deserts on the west side of the Red Sea; so, in an appendix to the History of the Revolt of Ali Bey, we find the Arabs that attended the author of that journal, through the deserts that lay between Aleppo and Bagdad, were considerably incommoded with the cold.

But if it were so with the poor wretches Job mentions, why, it may be asked, are the roots of the juniper mentioned? Do we not find in the Travels of Rauwolff, published by Mr. Ray, that in the Wilderness, on the Eastern side of the Tigris, they went out of doors, and gathered dry boughs, and stalks of herbs, to dress some food with, without mention of roots of any kind of tree? and does not Thevenot mention the gathering broom for boiling their coffee, and warming themselves, in the Wilderness, going from Cairo to Mount Sinai? Why then any mention of juniper as used for fuel? I would answer, that much slighter fuel would do for travellers that were clothed, and wanted only to stay a little while to take some refreshment, than would do for poor starving and almost naked creatures, whose continual abode was in the deserts. At the same time, it should seem, in the most destitute state, without proper tools to cut down trees there, so that the most substantial, lasting, and comfortable fuel they could procure, might well be the roots and refuse part of those gadha trees, whatever that word in d'Herbelot means, which were cut down to be made into charcoal for the use of those towns that lay on the borders of that desert into which the outcasts mentioned by Job retired. To depend on the chips, and castaway wood that others cut, to warm themselves in their naked state, must be great wretchedness.

OBSERVATION X.

WHAT IS GENERALLY EATEN WITH BREAD TO MAKE IT PALATABLE.

Dr. Pococke, in describing his journey to Jerusalem after his landing in Joppa, tells us,* he was conveyed to an encampment of Arabs, who entertained him as well as they could, making him cakes, and bringing him fine oil of olives, in which they usually dip their bread.

When he says usually, he means, I presume, when they are more elegantly regaled; for the Eastern people often make use of bread with nothing more than salt, or some such trifling addition, such as summersavory dried and powdered, which, mixed with the salt, is eaten by the people of Aleppo, as a relisher of their bread, according to the account of Dr. Russell.† The Septuagint translation of Job vi. 6, seems to refer to the same practice, when it renders the first part of that verse, *will bread be eaten without salt?* Ει ἐρωθησεται αρτος ανευ αλος.

It is to the same sort of frugality also, I suppose, Solomon refers, when he says, *he that loveth wine and oil, shall not be rich.*‡ One would have thought the using oil with their bread, which answers to our bread and butter, should not be thought extravagant; but this account of Dr. Russell shows it is a piece of delicateness in the East, the expense of which they frequently avoid.

I would here produce a passage from St. Jerom, in which this is mentioned, as well as a number of other curious circumstances. This father exclaiming, in a letter to Nepotion, against some who abundantly compensated their seeming austerities by a real delicacy in their way of

* Vol. ii. p. 5.

† Vol. i. p. 176. On this point Dr. Russell observes, MS. note, that bread in the East is very often eaten by itself, and is far from being insipid like the white of an egg. Edit.

‡ Prov. xxi. 17.

living, cries out, in words too spirited to be literally translated, to this purpose: "Let your fasts be pure, chaste, simple, moderate, and not superstitious. What signifies it *to eat no oil*, if you seek those kinds of food that are procured with trouble and difficulty, dried figs, spice, nuts, and the fruit of palm trees, fine flour, honey, pistachios? All the arts of gardening are exhausted,* that we may carry our mortifications to such a height as not to eat common bread. I hear there are some too that, in contradiction to nature, drink no water, as well as eat no bread; but they can swallow little delicate draughts, composed of the juices of divers herbs, and that not in a cup, but a shell. The severest fast is the confining one's self to bread and water. But because this is not ostentatious, as we all in common live on bread and water, this is reckoned too vulgar for such strictness of fasting as they pretend to."

Nepotion resided in Italy, as appears from the next epistle; but the writer of this letter lived at Bethlehem, and was blaming in it some monkish pretenders to austerity in those Eastern countries. The frequent making use of oil with bread, is what is referred to here, which as a delicacy, this austere generation would not be guilty of, though it seems they would make use of cakes made of the finest flour mingled with honey, which Moses speaks of, Lev. ii. 11; or composed of almonds, pistachio nuts, &c. for so, I suppose, the words are to be understood: which niceties, perhaps, were not so old as the days of Moses, but certainly as ancient as the days of Jerom. What he

* Vol. i. p. 16. ed. Basil 1565. Sint tibi pura, casta, simplicia, moderata, et con superstitiosa jejunia. Quid prodest *oleo non vesci*, et molestias quasdam difficultatesque ciborum quærere, carycas, piper, nuces, palmarum fructus, similam, mel, pistacia? Tota hortorum cultura vexatur, ut cibario non vescamur pane. Audio præterea quosdam contra rerum hominumque naturam, aquam non bibere, nec vesci pane, sed sorbitiunculas delicatas, et contrita olera, betarumque succum non calice sorbere, sed concha——Fortissimum jejunium est aqua et panis. Sed quia gloriam non habet, et omnes pane et aqua vivimus, quasi publicum et commune, jejunium non putatur

says of their drink deserves remark; but that belongs to another place.

To keep to the consideration of the custom of dipping their bread in oil, it is further to be remarked, that they make use not only of what is pressed from the olive, in their food, but also of less agreeable kinds of oil, for the sake of cheapness, as both Russell and Maillet assure us. The last in particular tells us, that the poor of Egypt use, out of necessity, a sort of oil drawn from a plant called there Cirika; and the Jews, out of sparingness, make use of it in the preparation of many of their meats, which must make, he observes, a detestable cookery.* To these meaner kinds of oil, Rabshakeh seems to refer, 2 Kings xviii. 32, when he promised the Jews a land that should produce the best oil, that of olives.

They make use of oil, and such like things, with their bread, but in different ways. So Dr. Shaw observes, that they break their bread, or cakes into little bits, and dip them in their oil and vinegar, robb, hatted milk, honey,† &c. and Dr. Pococke, in the passage cited at the beginning of this observation, takes notice of the Arabs dipping their bread in a syrup called *becmes*, which is made by boiling the juice of grapes to a due consistence;‡ but in another place of the same volume,§ describing his sitting down to eat with one of the Egyptian sheiks, he tells us, that a large wooden bowl was placed before them, filled with their thin cakes, broken into very small pieces, and a syrup mixed with it.‖

But the most extraordinary way of eating things of this kind together, is that, I think, described by Thevenot,¶ in his account of the Mafrouca of the Arabs, which, he

* Un ragout detestable. Let. 9, p. 11.

† P. 232.

‡ Vol. i. p. 58.

§ P. 113.

‖ This is not unfrequent in the *West*. Currant *jelly* is often eaten with bread here in England; and I have often seen the French spread the pulp *of roasted apples* on their bread instead of butter. EDIT.

¶ P. 273, part i.

says, is a great regale to them. "They mingle flour with water in a wooden bowl, which they carry always about with them, and knead it well into a paste; then they spread it upon the sand, where the fire was made, covering it up with hot embers, and live coals over them; and when it is baked on one side, they turn it upon the other: when it is well baked, they break it into small pieces, and with a little water knead it again anew, adding thereto butter, and sometimes also honey; they make it into a thick paste, and then break it into great pieces, which they work and press between their fingers, and so feed on them with delight; and they look like those gobbets of paste that are given to geese to fatten them."

It may be fairly collected, I think, from these things, that the pouring oil on the meatoffering baken in a pan, and broken to pieces, according to Lev. ii. 6, was according to the way of those times, when they would regale their friends in a more elegant manner, and consequently to be done out of respect to the priests of the LORD, to whom they were appropriated, Lev. vii. 9. That these words of Moses are by no means to be understood, according to what is said* to have been the opinion of Abarbanel, dividing it as it laid baking upon the plate, but of its being afterward broken in pieces, and presented to the priest after the offerer had poured oil in a due quantity upon the several bits, just as the bowl of bits of bread and syrup was presented to Dr. Pococke: if not broken in order to be kneaded again with oil, after the manner of the Mafrouca of the Arabs; which though perhaps not so probable, I would by no means take upon me to affirm does not come under the description of the lawgiver. And that, most probably, this direction of the sixth verse is not a peculiarity belonging to that sort of meatoffering, but explanatory of that mingling with oil of the other sorts, which is mentioned in the fourth and seventh verses.

* See Patrick upon Lev. ii. 6

The Eastern people in their preparations use honey, the juice of the grape boiled up to a syrup, and such like; but the law of God forbade every thing of this kind, in the meatoffering, limiting them to the use of oil: but the manner of mingling them, I should suppose to have been much the same with theirs.

I do not remember that Moses expressly required the use of the oil of olives; but I do not apprehend it would have been lawful for a Jew to have presented meatofferings with such oils as they now frequently use in those countries, and which Maillet thinks must make their viands detestable.* The neatness, not to say the magnificence, required in their sacred offices, effectually forbade the use of these sorts of oil. The silence, however, of Moses, does not seem to have flowed, from the not knowing in his time that oil might be drawn from other vegetables; for he in express terms required oil olive for the lights of the Sanctuary, but rather from their not having at that time been wont to be used in food, only for lights.

OBSERVATION XI.

CURIOUS METHOD OF BAKING BREAD IN THE EAST.

Dr. Shaw informs us,† that in the cities and villages of Barbary there are public ovens, but that among the Bedouins, who live in tents, and the Kabyles, who live in miserable hovels in the mountains, their bread made into thin cakes, is baked either immediately upon the coals or else in a Tajen, which he tells us is a shallow earthen vessel, like a fryingpan: and then cites the Septuagint, to

* "This, says Dr. Russell, MS. note, does not follow. Maillet's taste differs from that of many Jews, who in certain dishes prefer *seerage* to olive oil. The Arab butter has a strong, and to most Englishmen, disagreeable taste; yet I have known many of them prefer it to English butter in *pillaw*, though none could eat it at breakfast with bread. Much, however, depends on the mode of preparing the oil." Edit.

† P. 231

show they supposed the pan, mentioned Lev ii. 5, was the same thing as a Tajen.*

This account of the Doctor's is curious; but as it does not give us all the Eastern ways of baking, so neither does it furnish us, I am afraid, with a complete comment on that variety of methods of preparing the meatofferings, which is mentioned by Moses in that chapter.

So long ago as Queen Elizabeth's time Rauwolff observed,† that travellers frequently baked bread in the deserts of Arabia on the ground, heated for that purpose by fire, covering their cakes of bread with ashes and coals, and turning them several times, until they were baked enough; but that some of the Arabians had in their tents stones, or copperplates made on purpose for baking. Dr. Pococke, very lately, made a like observation,‡ speaking of iron hearths used for the baking their bread.§

* The Tajen, according to Dr. Russell, is exactly the same among the Bedouins as the Ταγανον, a word of the same sound as well as meaning, was among the Greeks. So the Septuagint, Lev. ii. 5. *If thy oblation be a meatoffering* baken *in a pan, απο ταγανου, it shall be of fine flour unleavened, mingled with oil.*

† Ray's Travels, p. 149, 150. ‡ Vol. ii. p. 96.

§ The sixth MS. C, mentioning the several ways of baking their bread in the East, describes these iron plates as small and *convex*, a circumstance not taken notice of, I think, by the other travellers I have examined. These plates are most commonly used, he tells us, in Persia, and among the wandering people that dwell in tents, as being the easiest way of baking, and done with the least expense; the bread being as thin as a skin, and soon prepared. Another way, for he mentions four, is by baking on the hearth. That bread is about an inch thick: they make no other all along the Black Sea, from the Palus Mæotis to the Caspian Sea, in Chaldea, and in Mesopotamia, except in towns. This he supposes is owing to their being woody countries. These people make a fire in the middle of a room, when the bread is ready for baking, they sweep a corner of the hearth, lay the bread there, cover it with hot ashes and embers; in a quarter of an hour they turn it: this bread is very good. The third way is that which is common among us. The last way, and that which is common through all Asia, is thus: they make an oven in the ground, four or five feet deep, and three in diameter, well plastered with mortar. When it is hot, they place the bread, which is commonly long, and not thicker than a finger, against the sides: it is baked in a moment. Ovens, he apprehends, were not in use in Canaan, in the patriarchal age. All the bread, of that time, was baked upon a plate, or under the ashes: that mentioned Gen. xviii. 6. was of this last sort. The shewbread he supposes was of the same kind

D'Arvieux mentions* another way, used by the Arabs about Mount Carmel, who sometimes bake in an oven, and at other times on the hearth; but have a third method, which is, to make a fire in a great stone pitcher, and when it is heated, they mix meal and water, as we do to make paste to glue things together, with which they apply with the hollow of their hands to the outside of the pitcher, and this extreme soft paste spreading itself upon it, is baked in an instant. The heat of the pitcher having dried up all the moisture, the bread comes off as thin as our wafers; and the operation is so speedily performed, that in a very little time a sufficient quantity is made.

Maimonides† and the Septuagint differ in their explanation of Lev. ii. 5, for that Egyptian rabbi supposes this verse speaks of a flat plate, and these more ancient interpreters of a tajen. But they both seem to agree that these were two of the methods of preparing the meat-offering: for Maimonides supposes the seventh verse speaks of a fryingpan or tajen; whereas the Septuagint, on the contrary, thought the word *there* meant a hearth. which term takes in an iron or copperplate, though it extends further. Both then agree in the things, though their explanations of the Hebrew words differ; and these two methods answer, the Arab way of baking on a copperplate mentioned by Rauwolff, and baking in a tajen which Dr. Shaw gives an account of.

The meatofferings of the fourth verse answer, as well the Arab bread baked by means of their stone pitchers, which are used by them for the baking of wafers; as their cakes of bread, mentioned by d'Arvieux, who describing the way of baking among the modern Arabs, after mentioning some of their methods, says, they bake their best sort of bread, either by heating an oven, or a large pitcher half full of certain little smooth shining flints, upon

* Voy. dans la Pal. p. 192, 193. † See Patrick upon Lev. ii. 5

which they lay the dough, spread out in form of a thin broad cake.*

The mention of wafers seems to fix the meaning of Moses to these oven pitchers, though perhaps it may be thought an object, that this meatoffering is said to have been baked in an oven: but it will be sufficient to observe, the Hebrew words only signify a meatoffering of the oven; and consequently may be understood as well of wafers baked on the *outside* of these oven pitchers, as of cakes of bread baked *in* them. *And if thou bring an oblation of a meatoffering, a baked thing of the oven, it shall be an unleavened cake of fine flour mingled with oil, or unleavened wafers anointed with oil.*†

Whoever then attends to these accounts of the Arab stone pitcher, the tajen, and the copperplate or iron hearth, will enter into this second of Leviticus, I believe, much more perfectly than any commentator has done, and will find in these accounts what answers perfectly well to the description Moses gives us, of the different ways of preparing the meatofferings.

A tajen, indeed, according to Dr. Shaw,‡ serves for a fryingpan as well as for a baking vessel; for he says, the *bagreah* of the people of Barbary differs not much from our pancakes, only that instead of rubbing the tajen, or pan in which they fry them, with butter, they rub it with soap to make them like a honeycomb. Moses possibly intended a meatoffering of that kind might be presented to the LORD; and our translators seem to prefer that supposition, since, though the margin mentions the opinion of Maimonides, the reading of the text in the sixth verse opposes a pan for baking, to a pan for frying in the seventeenth verse. The thought however of Maimonides seems to be most just, as Moses appears to be speaking of different kinds of bread only, not of other farinaceous preparations.

* Voy. dans la Pal. p. 194. † Lev. ii. 4.

‡ Note i. p. 230.

In all this it may be observed, that though the precepts of Moses were sufficient for the direction of Israel in their settled state, yet they seem to have a particular relation to the methods of preparing bread used by those that live in tents: and his mentioning cakes of bread baked in the oven, and wafers which are baked on the outside of these pitchers in the fourth verse, with bread baked on a plate and in a tajen in the fifth and seventh verses, would incline one to think their meatofferings were prepared by the Israelites in their own tents, and brought from thence and presented to the LORD, rather than that they were baked in an oven, or pan, or on a plate, appointed for that purpose in the court of the tabernacle.

But whether this was so or not, the account these travellers give of the Arab manner of baking on a plate, will make the notion of Jarchi, adopted by Abarbanel, as represented by Bishop Patrick,* appear very odd. "They suppose there was a vessel in the Temple, which was only flat and broad, but had no rising on the sides of it: so that the oil being poured upon it, when it was set on the fire, ran down and increased the flame, and made the cake hard." The one of these was a French, and the other a Portuguese rabbi, I think, and they seem to have as little notion, of explaining the Old Testament by ancient customs that remain in the East, as any Christian commentators whatever.

These oven pitchers mentioned by d'Arvieux, and used by the modern Arabs for baking cakes of bread in them, and wafers on their outsides, are not the only portable ovens of the East: St. Jerom, in his Commentary on Lam. v. 10, describes an Eastern oven as a round vessel of brass, blackened on the outside by the surrounding fire, which heats it within.† Such an oven I have seen

* On Lev. ii. 5.

† Clibanus est coquendis panibus æenei vaseuli deducta rotunditas, quæ sub urentibus flammis ardet intrinsecus.

used in England. Which of these the Mishnah refers to,* when it speaks of the women's lending their ovens to one another, as well as their mills and their sieves, I do not know: but the foregoing Observations may serve to remove a surprise, that this circumstance may otherwise occasion in the reader of the Mishnah. Every body almost knows that little portable handmills are extremely common in the Levant, moveable ovens are not so well known.

Whether ovens, of the kind St. Jerom mentions, be as ancient as the days of Moses, does not appear, unless the tajen be used after this manner; but the pitcher ovens of the Arabs are, without doubt, of that remote antiquity.

OBSERVATION XII.

FURTHER INFORMATION CONCERNING THEIR MANNER OF BAKING IN THE EAST.

Travellers agree that the Eastern bread is made in small thin moist cakes, must be eaten new, and is good for nothing when kept longer than a day. This, however, admits of exceptions. Dr. Russell† of late, and Rauwolff‡ formerly, assure us, that they have several sorts of bread and cakes. Some, Rauwolff tells us, done with yelk of eggs, some mixed with several sorts of seeds, as of sesamum, Romish coriander, and wild garden saffron,§ which are also strewed upon it: and he elsewhere‖ supposes that they prepare biscuits for travelling. Russell also mentions this strewing of seeds on their cakes, and says, they have a variety of rusks and biscuits. To these authors let me add Pitts,¶ who tells us, the biscuits they

* In tit. Shebiith. † Vol. i. p. 116. ‡ Ray's Travels, p. 95.

§ The *cartharnus*, not *wild saffron*. Dr. Russell, MS. note. Edit.

‖ P. 149. ¶ P. 88.

carry with them from Egypt will last them to Mecca, and back again.

So the Scriptures supposes their loaves of bread were very small, three of them being requisite for the entertainment of a single person, Luke xi. 5. That they were generally eaten new, and baked as they wanted them, as appears from the case of Abraham. That sometimes, however, they were made so as to keep several days, so the shew-bread was fit food after having stood before the LORD a week. And that bread for travellers was wont to be made to keep some time, as appears from the pretences of the Gibeonites, Josh. ix. 12; and the preparations Joseph made for Jacob's journey into Egypt, Gen. xlv. 23.*

In like manner too they seem to have had then a variety of eatables of this kind, as the Aleppines now have. In particular some made like those on which seeds are strewed, as we may collect from that part of the present of Jeroboam's wife to the Prophet Ahijah, which our translators have rendered *cracknells*, 1 King. xiv. iii. Buxtorf† indeed supposes the original word נקדים *nakkudeem* signifies biscuits, called by this name, either because they were formed into little buttons like some of our gingerbread, or because they were pricked full of holes after a particular manner. The last of these two conjectures, I imagine, was embraced by our translators of this passage, for *cracknells*, if they are all over England of the same form, are full of holes, being formed into a kind of flourish of latticework. I have seen some of the unleavened bread of our English Jews, made in like manner in a network form. Nevertheless, I should think it more natural to understand the word of biscuits spotted with seeds: for it is used elsewhere to signify works of gold spotted with

* "The bread or *rusks* for travelling is often made in the form of large *rings*, and is moistened or soaked in water before it is used." Russell, MS. note, in loc. EDIT.

† Et buccellata 1 Reg. 14. 3, quæ biscocta vulgò vocant, sic dicta quòd in frusta exigua rotunda, quasi puncta conficerentur, aut quod singulari forma interpunctarentur. Epit. Rad. Heb. p. 544.

studs of silver; and, as it should seem, bread spotted with mould, Josh. ix. 5-12; how much more natural then is it to understand the word of cakes spotted with seeds, which are so common, that not only Rauwolff and Russell speak of them at Aleppo, but Hanway tells us too that the cakes of bread that were presented to him, at the house of a Persian of distinction, were in like manner sprinkled with the seeds of poppies and other things, than of cracknells, on account of their being full of holes. It is used for things that are *spotted* we know, never in any other place for a thing *full of holes*. Our translators then do not appear to have been very happy in the choice of the word *cracknells* here.*

As to all particulars of the ancient bread and cake kind, it may be difficult to give an exact account at this distance of time. Ainsworth at least does not appear to have been successful in a criticism of this sort, which he has given the world in his note on Ps. xxxv. 16. He thinks that as bread is used for all food, so a cake מעוג *maûog*, seems to be used for all juncates or dainty meats; but it is used for those cakes Ezekiel was to eat, as expressive of the hardships of a siege, which were so far from being dainty meats, that they might rather be termed the bread of affliction; not to mention other places were nothing of the idea supposed by Ainsworth appears. If we will allow the authority of the Septuagint, it signifies precisely bread baked under the coals and ashes, for thus they perpetually translate this, and a kindred word, εγκρυφιας, and nothing, it is certain, forbids this interpretation. And if so, it is no wonder Ezekiel abhorred the thought of eating bread prepared after this manner with human dung. As for the other words, the Septuagint and other Greek interpreters frequently differ in their translations; and

* Sir J. Chardin's MS. in like manner, says, "*several sorts of bread* are served up in Eastern feasts."

Dr. Russell, in a MS. note here, agrees with Mr. Hanway, and thinks the conjecture just: but adds, that "there are a variety of sweatmeats and pastry made in different forms, but none made for long keeping." EDIT

even the Septuagint itself sometimes translates the same Hebrew word by different terms, and different Hebrew words by one Greek one; the general meaning, however, of most of these words may perhaps be ascertained.

Is not לבבות *lebiboth* in particular, the word that in general means rich cakes? A sort of which Tamar used to prepare that was not common, and furnished Amnon with a pretence for desiring her being sent to his house, that she might make some of that kind for him in the time of his indisposition, his fancy running upon them.* To make this account more clear, it is requisite to add, from Dr. Pococke's travels, that the women of the East, though they be very great persons, do themselves pre-

* See 2 Sam. xiii. 1-8. Parkhurst supposes the original word to signify "*pancakes*, and translate the root לבב labab, to *move* or *toss up and down*. And she took the dough ותלוש *vatalosh* and *kneaded* ותלבב *vattilabeb* and *tossed it* in his sight, ותבשל *vattibashel*, and *dressed* the cakes. In this passage, says Mr. P. it is to be observed, that לבב is distinguished from לש to *knead*, and from בשל to *dress*, which agrees with the interpretation here given." The account which Mr. Jackson gives of an Arab baking apparatus, and the manner of *kneading* and *tossing their cakes*, will at once, if I mistake not, fix the meaning of this passage, and cast much light upon Lev. xi. 35. "I was much amused by observing the dexterity of the Arab women in baking their bread. They have a small place built with clay between two and three feet high, having a hole at the bottom for the convenience of drawing out the ashes, something similar to that of a lime-kiln. The oven, which I think is the most proper name for this place, is usually about fifteen inches wide at top, and gradually grows wider to the bottom. It is heated with wood, and when sufficiently hot, and perfectly clear from smoke, having nothing but clear embers at bottom, which continue to reflect great heat, they prepare the dough in a large bowl, and mould the cakes to the desired size on a board or stone placed near the oven. After they have kneaded the cake to a proper consistence, they pat it a little, *then toss it about* with great dexterity in one hand till it is as thin as they choose to make it. They then wet one side of it with water, at the same time wetting the hand and arm with which they put it into the oven. The side of the cake adheres fast to the side of the oven till it is sufficiently baked, when, if not paid proper attention to, it would fall down among the embers. If they were not exceedingly quick at this work, the heat of the oven would burn their arms, but they perform it with such amazing dexterity, that one woman will continue keeping three or four cakes in the oven at once, till she has done baking. This mode, let me add, does not require half the fuel that is made use of in Europe." *Journey from India*, p. 50. EDIT.

pare dinner in their own apartments, or at least inspect and direct it:* it appears from the case of Tamar, it was so anciently.†

De Dieu seems to be as unhappy in his differing from the Septuagint, as to the meaning of the word עגה *uggah*, in Hosea vii. 8,‡ as Ainsworth. He gives us from Golius, an eyewitness, much such an account of the Arab pitchers for baking, as I have done from d'Arvieux, and he supposes *uggah* signifies a *wafer* baked on the outside of these earthen vessels, and fancies its name is expressive of its concavo-convex form, derived from an Arabic word:§ very unlucky this! especially to be mentioned in this text, which speaks of a uggah not turned; for Golius, even according to this gentleman, as well as d'Arvieux, informs us these wafers are baked almost instantaneously, but the εγκρυφιας of the Septuagint is turned over and over again. Rauwolff's account of them has been cited by authors, but must be repeated here, as it gives us the best comment on these words of Hosea. "The woman was not idle neither," speaking of his entertainment in the tent of a Curter on the other side the Euphrates, "but brought us milk and eggs to eat, so that we wanted for nothing; which were about a finger thick, and about the bigness of a trencher, as is usual to do in the wilderness, and sometimes in towns also, she laid them on hot stones, and kept them a turning, and at length she flung the ashes and embers over them, and so baked them thoroughly. They were very good to eat, and very savoury."||

* Vol. i. about page 184.

† Dr. Russell says, MS. note, "The Eastern ladies often wash their own hands, prepare cakes, pastry, &c. in their apartments. And some few particular dishes are cooked by themselves, but not in their apartments: on such occasion, they go to some room near the kitchen." EDIT.

‡ Vide Poli Syn. in loc.

§ The Arabic word used by De Dieu is حوجه *hawaja*, which is probably a mistake for حجنه *hajina*, which Golius renders *curvus fuit*. EDIT.

|| Ray's Travels, tom. i. p. 185, 186.

Loaves are also sometimes made of barley, but they are only used by people in distress.* The common use of that grain is for feeding horses: it was so anciently, 1 Kings iv. 28. If then Boaz, a mighty man of wealth, made a present to Ruth of barley, after he had made a declaration very much in her favour, it may be understood to be owing to the preceding great scarcity of corn in that country at that time, and Naomi's returning in the beginning of barley harvest, and before any wheat was reaped; consequently the grain presented must almost necessarily be barley, and after such a dearth might be a very acceptable and honorable present. In like circumstances, loaves of barley were not thought an improper present to be made to an eminent Prophet, 2 Kings iv. 42.

However, it may be further observed, that as the preceding famine might make barley for loaves very acceptable to Naomi; so there are other preparations of it that are used in the East, in the most plentiful times, and even presented to persons whom they would treat with respect. So Dr. Pococke, describing† a supper that was sent him by a person of distinction in Egypt, an Aga, mentions, along with the pillaw, the goat's flesh boiled and well peppered, and the hot bread, a soup of barley, with the husk taken off like rice.‡

OBSERVATION XIII.

OF THE EASTERN SEETHING POT.

That view of an Eastern seething pot, where the opening into the small hollow underneath, into which the fuel is put§ is right before the eye of the spectator, must, I think, be what is called its *face*, Jer. i. 13; and our translation appears to me to be right, which supposes the face of this pot, which Jeremiah saw in the visions of God,

* See Pitts, p. 35, 208.

† Vol. i. p. 122, 123. ‡ See Observation xxiii.

§ For their pots for boiling are not placed over an open fire as with us, but over a hole, with an aperture into it on one side, so as pretty much to resemble our coppers. This, according to Rauwolff, is done to save fuel.

was turned to the northward, intimating that the fuel to be put under it was to be brought from the north.

For, as the people that were to destroy the Jews, of that age, were incontrovertibly to be brought from that quarter, v. 15; and as that destruction is elsewhere represented by the consuming of meat boiled in a pot, Ezek. xxiv. 3—14; the representing that circumstance of the destruction of Jerusalem, I mean its being effected by a people that came from the North, if that destruction was represented by a seething pot at all, was most naturally expressed by exhibiting the opening into the furnace as turned northward, fuel being of course placed on the side where the opening was.

This representation is very simple: and, after paying a little attention to it, some comments of the learned of former times will appear not a little odd. It is not however necessary to recite them.

OBSERVATION XIV.

CURIOUS ACCOUNT OF A ROYAL CAMEL FEAST AND THE MANNER OF SEETHING IT.

That passage of Ezekiel,* cited in one of the last articles, makes but a strange appearance in our translation; we know not what to make of the *burning the bones* under the chaldron, neither in the literal or the figurative sense. But it may perhaps receive a pretty clear illustration, especially the Septuagint translation of it, from the account given us of a royal Arab camel feast, in the third volume of the Philosophical Transactions abridged.†

When I say *royal*, I mean a feast prepared for the entertainment of the king of the Arabs of the Desert, but at the expense of one of his grandees, of which two young camels formed the principal part. "Before midday," says the account, "a carpet being spread in the middle tent, our dinner was brought in, being served up in large

* Ch. xxiv. 3—12 † Part ii. ch. 2, art. 40, § 2.

wooden bowls between two men; and truly, to my apprehension, load enough for them. Of these great platters there were about fifty or sixty in number, perhaps more, with a great many little ones, I mean, such as one man was able to bring in, strewed here and there among them, and placed for a border or garnish round about the table. In the middle of all was one of a larger size than all the rest, in which were the camels' bones, and a thin broth in which they were boiled: the other greater ones seemed all filled with one and the same sort of provision, a kind of plum-broth made of rice, and the fleshy part of the camel, with currants and spices, being of a somewhat darker colour than what is made in our country. The less were, for the most part, charged with rice, dressed after several modes, some of them having laben a thick sour milk, poured upon them."

The Prophet has himself in another part of this sacred book, given, in general, an explanation of this parable: the chaldron or pot means Jerusalem, as to its buildings; the flesh cooked in the pot, the inhabitants of that city, that were to be slain and consumed in it. Ch. xi. 7.

If now we turn to the translation of this 24th chapter, in the Septuagint, we shall find this destruction expressed in terms that may remind us of that Arab feast I have been mentioning. According to that version, the parable speaks of "a pot or chaldron set upon its furnace; water poured into it; the halves of animals that were fine, put in, each consisting of the leg and shoulder; not however whole, but the flesh removed from the bones; that fire was to be put under when the bones were placed beneath the flesh; the bones to be boiled and stewed in the midst of the pot; then, after some account of the meaning of this parable, and the cause of GOD's anger, the allusion is taken up again, when GOD threatens to heap on wood, and to kindle the fire, so as to consume the flesh, and diminish the quantity of the broth; after which the emptied chaldron was to be laid on the coals, and its impurities to be removed by the violence of fire."

This is the substance of their account of this parable, and we may see in it the taking off the flesh, as that of the camels from their bones in the Arab feast; the boiling it down to a pulpy substance, and a great diminution of the liquid; and the supposition that the bones themselves afforded something delicious. Thus far these ancient Egyptian interpreters go in their account, quite agreeing with the modern history of an Arab royal feast, and, without doubt, with the managements of their own times. Only it may be the Arabs stewed their bones by themselves; anciently, it seems, they did it in the same pot with the flesh.

If now we turn to the original Hebrew, it is visible that the second clause of the fifth verse must be wrong translated: it could never signify *burning the bones under the pot*, if for no other reason, yet for this, that in the close of the 4th verse, and in the end of the 5th, it is supposed they were to seethe them in it. The *heaping them up*, which is the marginal translation, appears to be the true meaning. And, as to what follows, it should seem we are to understand the word as signifying the lower part of the pot,* *heap up the bones in the lower part of the pot, and make it boil well.*

The 10th verse mentions the *consuming*, or *dissolving the flesh*, the *spicing or seasoning* it, and the *burning bones*, or rather leaving them dry. This brings to mind the spices and the currants of the great camel feast, and the emptying of the chaldron of its contents so entirely as to leave nothing but bones in it.

The whole parable expresses the great slaughter of the Jews in the destruction of Jerusalem, not only those of the lower rank, but those of the greatest; for I do not think that the choice of the flock is to be understood exclusively of others, but as comprehending many, very many of them; that the people of Babylon would take as great pleasure in destroying the Jewish people, as men would

* Vide Job xxviii. 5.

do in partaking of a delicious royal repast; and that after the city was emptied, it would be given up to purging flames, as a filthy pot, made disagreeable by scum and other impurities, might be cleansed by being heated in the fire to a high degree.*

How the Egyptian translators of the Septuagint version came to leave out the *spicing*, or *seasoning* of this soup, for the word, I presume, is not limited to spices properly speaking, but comprehends every thing that seasons, or heightens the taste; and how they came to divide what of the flock was stewed just into halves, which the word they have made use of properly signifies, whereas the present Arabs, when they would make pottage even of a chicken, divide it into four parts, and a fowl into six or eight, I do not know, since the Hebrew copies only suppose the animals put into the chaldron to be cut in pieces in general; but must leave it to my reader to guess.†

On the other hand, we are told by the same writer, that in their grand repasts, they stew, not unfrequently, a whole lamb or kid.‡ The parable, however, of Ezekiel, supposes them divided into parts, whether halved or into single joints, the original does not determine, though the version of the Septuagint does, after which both suppose the flesh was taken from the bones.

OBSERVATION XV.

OF THE GRINDING OF THEIR CORN, AND THE TIME OF THE DAY IN WHICH IT IS DONE.

The time for grinding their corn is the morning; which consideration makes the Prophet's selecting the noise of millstones,§ and lighting up of candles, as circumstances belonging to inhabited places, appear in a view which no

* See Numb. xxi. 22, 23

† Voy. dans la Pal. par de la Roque, ch. 14, p. 199.

‡ P. 198.

§ Jer. xxv. 10.

commentators, that I have examined, have taken any notice of.

I am indebted to Sir John Chardin's MS. for the knowledge of this fact. It informs us that in the East they grind their corn at break of day, and that on going out in a morning, one hears every where the noise of the mill; and that it is the noise that often awakens people.*

It has been commonly known that they bake every day, and that they usually grind their corn as they want it; but this passage informs us, that it is the first work done in a morning, as well as that this grinding of their mills makes a considerable noise, and attracts every ear; and as the lighting up of candles begins the evening, there is an agreeable contrast observable in these words, *Moreover, I will take from them the voice of mirth, and the voice of gladness, the voice of the bridegroom, and the voice of the bride, the sound of millstones, and the light of the candle. And their whole land shall be a desolation, &c.* Gloomy shall be the silence of the morning, melancholy the shadows of the evening; no cheerful noise to animate the one, no enlivening ray to soften the gloom of the other. Desolation shall every where reign.

A land may abound with habitations, and furnish an agreeable abode where the voice of mirth is not heard; none of the songs, the music, and the dances, of nuptial solemnities; but in the East, where no millstones are heard in the morning,† no light seen in the evening, it must be a dreary, dismal solitude.

* In a note on Luke xii. 42.

† Sir J. Chardin, in another note of his MS. his note on Rev. xviii. 22, supposes, that songs are made use of when they are grinding. It is very possible, then, that when the sacred writers speak of the noise of the millstones, they may mean not the noise made by the mills, but the noise of the songs of those that worked them: so Chardin understood the words of St. John, Rev. xviii. 22; and so consequently may Jeremiah be understood; and it is certain this is the noise Chardin meant, when he mentioned the noise of grinding in a morning. His words are, "The noise of a millstone, that is to say, the voice and songs of those that grind. The people of the East commonly make use of handmills, and those that grind sing. From hence one hears a great noise in great cities."

This earliness of grinding corn makes the going of Rechab and Baanah,* to fetch wheat *the day before* from the palace to be distributed to the soldiers under them, each one his portion, to be ground early in the morning, very natural.† It appears from the history of David,‡ that princes indulged themselves on their beds until the coolness of the evening began to come on, and the corn to be distributed to the soldiers must of course be had the day before grinding: their coming then for corn, while Ishbosheth was still indulging, had nothing suspicious in it; and I must think the reading of our present Hebrew copies more natural than that the Septuagint made use of, if they kept close to their copy. The Egyptian women are, indeed, very curious in cleaning their wheat before they grind it, according to Monsieur Maillet;§ and it is not very wonderful, if the female servants of an ancient Jewish prince might make use of something of the like care; a female might be employed, possibly as a porter,‖ and at the same time have some care about preparing corn for grinding: but, certainly, in such a case there could be no necessity for the sacred historian to mention this part of her employment, along with her sleeping; her slumbering was abundantly sufficient; yet, according to

* 2 Sam. iv. 2—7.

† It is still a custom in the East, to allow their soldiers a certain quantity of meat, bread, butter, rice, and corn, per day, Dr. Perry tells us, p. 43, as well as some pay.

‡ 2 Sam. xi. 2. "May not David have been lounging only on his divan? as to walking on his terrace, it naturally would be after sunset." Dr. Russell, MS. note. EDIT.

§ "It may not be disagreeable to you to see, with what care they prepare their corn, for making it into bread, in the houses of people of any distinction. They examine it first grain by grain; they afterward wash it in several waters, and dry it in the shade; after which they rub it between two cloths, before they carry it to the mill. One may easily imagine what neatness and delicacy must attend the bread made of such flour." Let. 9, p. 8.

To this remark, Dr. Russell adds, MS. note, that "the females are very careful in this respect at Aleppo." EDIT.

‖ John xviii. 17.

the Septuagint, all this is mentioned; the sixth verse, according to them, being "And behold, the female porter of the house was cleaning wheat; and she nodded, and was sleeping. And the brethren, Rechab and Baanah," &c.

It is remarked, in another place of this MS. that they are female slaves that are generally employed in the East at these handmills; that it is extremely laborious, and esteemed the lowest* employment in the house; about which they set their black servants only, and those that are the least fit for any thing else. He remarks, that most of their corn is ground by these little mills; that he did not remember to have seen any windmills in the East, but that he had seen watermills, especially at Ispahan, and some of the other great cities of Persia; and that they sometimes make use of large mills wrought by oxen or camels.†

OBSERVATION XVI.

THE MANNER OF LEAVENING THEIR BREAD.

By the law of Moses, there was no leaven of any kind to be suffered in the houses of the Israelites, for seven or eight days;‡ this might have been a considerable inconvenience in Great Britain, but none at all in Palestine.

For the MS. C. assures us, they use no kind of leaven in the East,§ but dough kept until it is grown sour, which they keep from one day to another: if then there should be no leaven in all the country for some days, in twenty-four hours some would be produced, and they would return to their preceding state.

* Exod. xi. 5.

† Dr. Russell observes, that "they use mules and blind horses at Aleppo." EDIT.

‡ Exod. xii. 15, 19.

§ Yet in wine countries it should seem, by this writer, they use the lees of wine as we do yeast.

OBSERVATION XVII.

METHOD OF CHURNING IN THE EAST, AND OF TREADING GRAPES AND OLIVES.

THE Eastern way of *churning*, which is done by putting the cream into a goat's skin, turned inside out, which the Arabs suspend in their tents, and then pressing it to and fro, in one uniform direction, quickly occasion a separation of the unctuous from the wheyey part.* But there is another way, it seems, of churning in the Levant, which is by a man's treading upon the skin, which answers the same purpose.

Mons. d'Arvieux informs us,† that the butter of the Arabs is not very good, and always has something of the taste of tallow: that they make it by churning in a leather bottle,‡ which is not very cleanly; filling it up afterward with milk, and so make their cheese, which is white, and of a very bad taste, but they make no other: that they drink sometimes sweet milk, and sometimes make broth of it; but that when it curdles they put the juice of an herb to make it sourer, and consequently more refreshing: that they also put some of it upon their pillaw,§ and eat it mixed together.‖

Grapes, it is well known, are wont to be *trodden with the feet*, when they want to make wine. Dr. Chandler saw it practised near Smyrna, just as he left Asia. Black grapes were spread on the ground in beds, and exposed to the sun, to dry for raisins; while, in another part, the juice was expressed for wine, a man, with feet and legs bare, treading the fruit in a kind of cistern, with an hole

* Shaw, p. 168. D'Arvieux gives a similar account.

† Voy. dans la Pal. p. 200, 201.

‡ Hasselquist gives the same account, p. 159.

§ Their boiled rice. ‖ This which is mixed is termed *leban*. Russell

or vent near the bottom, and a vessel beneath it to receive the liquor.*

The Scriptures, which mention the *treading grapes*,† for wine, inform us that *olives* also were *trodden*, to get the oil contained in them.‡ Whether any previous preparation was made use of in those ancient times, we are not told; but it seems certain that mills are now used for pressing and grinding the olives, according to Chandler, which grow in the neighbourhood of Athens. These mills are in the town, and not on the spot in which the olives grow; and seem to be used, in consequence of its being found, that the mere weight of the human body is insufficient for an effectual extraction of the oil.

The *treading of grapes* then, and *olives*, are well known facts; but Dr. Chandler is the first so far as I have observed, that has given us an account of the way of treading on skins full of cream, by men, in order to separate the butter from its more watery part: and deserves attention, not only on account of the novelty of the observation; but as it may, possibly, throw some light over a passage of Job, which I never saw well accounted for: *When I washed my steps with butter, and the rock poured me out rivers of oil.*‖

Commentators have observed, what every sensible reader must have perceived without their help, that plenty of butter and oil, in his possession, is what is meant in this passage; but none, that I know of, have given any tolerable account of the ground of his representing this exuberance of butter, produced by his kine after this manner.

The way in which a great man was to pass was sometimes swept, sometimes strewed with flowers, sometimes watered, and might, possibly, sometimes be moistened with waters of an odoriferous kind; but was it ever moistened with melted butter? The feet were sometimes anointed with oil, in which odoriferous substances had been infused,¶ but was butter ever applied to them?

* P. 2. † Neh. xiii. 15, Is. lxiii. 2, Judges ix. 27, &c.

‡ Mic. vi. 15, Deut. xxviii. 24. ‖ Ch. xxix. 6. ¶ Luke vii. 37, 38—46

May we not rather suppose there is a reference, in these words of Job, to the treading skins full of cream under their feet, when they had very large quantities which they wanted to churn?

When a small quantity of grapes are to be squeezed, it may be done commodiously enough by the hand: after this manner Pharaoh's butler supposed he squeezed out new wine into the royal cup, Gen. xl. 11. This indeed was only a visionary scene, but it is to be supposed to be a natural one. So when there was a quantity of cream, such as a poor Arab may be supposed to be possessed of, it was put into a skin, suspended in his tent, and the whole process conducted by the females belonging to it; but when the number of a man's milch cattle was large, it became requisite to put the cream into a number of skins, on which he might tread, and by that means produce a large quantity of butter. This seems to me no improbable account, and by no means an unnatural explanation of the phrase, *I washed my steps with butter.*

Greece is indeed considerably distant from the land of Uz; and the age in which Job lived far removed from our times; but as a skin, which Chandler saw in Greece, is still the churning vessel used by the Arabs in the Holy Land, as well as of Barbary, and consequently, as the customs of the Arabs so little vary, the use of a skin for churning, though used in our times too, is to be understood to be very ancient; and the same reason that might induce the more opulent Greeks to tread their cream, rather than to confine themselves to the motion the Arabs generally use, might make the richer inhabitants of the more Eastern countries do the like, and consequently Job, who abounded in cattle.

The expression, it must be allowed, is highly figurative, but not more so than what may be supposed to suit Oriental poetry.

The word *washing*, when used poetically, certainly is not confined to the cleansing the feet by some purifying fluid, for the dipping the feet in human blood shed in war,

which, according to the Mosaic law, was a very unclean thing, is in a Jewish poetic writer styled, notwithstanding, a *washing the feet*, Ps. lviii. 10. The plunging the feet then into cream, or butter, may without question, be equally called washing the feet in butter, and walking in it, washing the steps.

But it may be said, there is a wide difference in the two cases: in walking round and round upon a number of skins filled with cream, which, after a time, in part becomes butter, the feet come not into contact with either, whereas the Psalmist speaks of dipping the naked foot into the blood of the slain.

In answer to this, not to say that it is by no means certain, that David thought particularly of the foot being bare, when dipped in the blood of the wicked; and that on the contrary, the feet and legs of warriors of that ancient time were covered, sometimes with defensive armour of brass:* Jonah, in a prayer, or divine hymn, says, *The waters compassed me about even to the soul: the depth closed me round about, the weeds were wrapt about my head.* Now the weeds of the sea came not into contact with his head, when in the belly of the fish. Job then might as well, in the glowing language of Eastern poetry, be said to have washed his feet in butter, as Jonah said, that the weeds were wrapped about his head; though no contact in either case.

Before I finish this article, I beg leave to touch on another passage of this ancient poem, which the management that obtains in these countries may serve to illustrate: "He shall not see the *rivers*," says Zophar, "*the floods, the brooks of honey and butter.*"†

We, in these cooler countries, have no great notion of butter being described as so extremely liquid; it appears among us in a more solid form. But as the plentiful flowing of honey, when pressed from the comb, may be compared, in strong language, to a little river, as it runs into

* 1 Sam. xvii. 6. † Job xx. 17

the vessels in which it is to be kept; so, as they manage matters, butter is equally fluid, and may be described after the same way: so Dr. Shaw, after giving an account of making butter in a skin, says, "A great quantity of butter is made in several places of these kingdoms;* which, after it is boiled with salt, in order to precipitate the hairs and other nastinesses occasioned in the churning, they put into jars, and preserve it for use. Fresh butter soon grows sour and rancid."† Other authors give a like account.

Streams of butter then, poured, when clarified, into jars in which it is preserved, might as naturally be compared to rivers, as streams of honey flowing, upon pressure, into other jars, in which that other great article of Eastern diet was wont to be kept, for after use. The wicked man shall not see the *rivulets*, much less the *rivers*, less still the *torrents* of honey and butter which the upright man may hope to enjoy: for such seems to be the gradation, and it is so expressed in the interlineary Latin translation of Pagnin, revised by Montanus.

Unluckily the beauty of the climax is lost in our translation. Instead of continuing to rise, it sinks in the close; ending with *brook*, after having mentioned *rivers* and *torrents*. The Vulgate uses only two of the words, *rivulets* and *torrents*, and by thus ranging them does not destroy the energy of the gradation, though it makes it less complete.

Here are several things observable; but it is the account of their manner of making butter‡ I would particularly remark, which is also used, according to Dr. Shaw,‖ in Barbary, because it seems to me to throw light on what is said of Jael, in the 4th and 5th of Judges: *And he*, Sisera, *said unto her, give me, I pray*

* Those of Barbary. † P. 169. ‡ P. 168.

‖ Vol. i. p. 188. "If the *chemah*, says Dr. Russell, MS note, be the same as the *kaymak* of the Arabs, which is very probable, it is not simple cream, but cream prepared like that in Devonshire and Cornwall." EDIT.

thee a little water to drink, for I am thirsty: and she opened a bottle of milk, and gave him drink, and covered him. Judges iv. *He asked water, and she gave him milk, she brought forth butter in a lordly dish.* Judges v. 25.

Vitringa, in his commentary on Isaiah, tells us that the word חמאה *chemah*, signifies not only *butter* but *cream*, and that this last is the genuine sense of the word; he commends Alting for making this observation, which he thinks that writer has effectually confirmed, by comparing Judges v. 25, with Judges iv. 19. He adds that Jarchi, who was an eminent French rabbi of the twelfth century, had the same thought before Alting.

I believe few people would think cream very proper drink for one that was extremely thirsty. And if I am not mistaken, a much clearer account may be given of these two texts from Mons. d'Arvieux. Jael, it is to be observed, was the wife of Heber the Kenite; and that Heber, as well as the rest of the Kenites, dwelt in Palestine in tents, just as the Arabs do now, being indeed an Arab tribe. If the Kenites made butter then, as the modern Arabs do, and as there does not appear any refinement in the present Arab custom, but all the marks of the ancient simplicity, we may believe they did, the supposing Jael had been just churning will account, in the easiest manner in the world, for these two Scriptures. Sisera being thirsty, asked for some water to drink; she opens a bottle, a skin according to the original, a leather bottle, that is, with which, agreeably to the Arab mode, she had just been churning, and pouring its contents into a bowl fit to be presented to a man of Sisera's quality, and doubtless the best she had in the tent, she offers him this buttermilk to drink. This gave occasion to Deborah to speak of milk and butter both. Sour milk is esteemed by those people more refreshing than that which is sweet. Instead then of giving him water, when he complained of thirst, she gave him a better sort of liquid, but of a kind the most

refreshing, we may believe, that she had then by her. Every thing in these two texts agrees with the Arab customs. *Chemah* חמאה certainly signifies *butter*, as appears Prov. xxx. 33; that it signifies *cream* may be true, but is by no means proved by the collation of these passages, as Alting pretends.*

So have I known a British nobleman, of the first distinction, drink buttermilk with great relish when thirsty after hunting. And what is still more to the purpose, Dr. Pococke, when he is giving an account of an Arab's entertaining him in the Holy Land as well as he could,† informs us that they brought cakes which were sour, and fine oil of olives to dip them in; but perceiving he did not like it, they served him up some sour buttermilk:‡ and every meal was finished with coffee. It is to be remembered, this was the entertainment of people that treated him in the most respectful manner they could, and was produced, when they found what was before prepared for him was not so agreeable, desirous to do every thing they could to accommodate him. So in the account which was published of Commodore Stewart's embassy, to redeem some British captives in 1721, we are told that buttermilk is the chief dessert of the Moors; and that when they would speak of the extraordinary sweetness of any thing, I suppose agreeableness is meant, they compare it to buttermilk.||

OBSERVATION XVIII.

OF THEIR CHEESE IN THE EAST.

As to what la Roque has said, on the authority of Mons. d'Arvieux, concerning the Arab way of making cheese,

* "I should, says Dr. Russell, MS. note, think Alting in the right, for the following reason; the Arab butter is apt to be foul, and is commonly passed through a strainer before it is served up. I never saw *butter* offered to a stranger, but always *kaymak*; nor did I ever observe them drink *buttermilk*, but always *leban* diluted with water." EDIT.

† Vol. ii. p. 2, p. 25. ‡ *Leban*, not *buttermilk*. EDIT.

|| To *leban*; so Dr. Russell in his MS. notes on these two places. EDIT.

which was mentioned under the last Observation, a doubt having been made by some persons concerned in our English dairies, whether milk could be sufficiently turned, by buttermilk, into curds to make cheese, I had the experiment tried; and when the buttermilk is a little sour, as we may believe it always is in those hot countries, it is very sufficient for the purpose: and the cheese produced in this manner, though not the very best, was found more agreeable than was expected. But observations of this kind do not belong to these papers.

In a language, I would remark then, so little copious as the Hebrew, it is scarcely credible that there should be three different words to signify *cheese;* yet in the three passages in which that word occurs in our translation,* the original words are all different.

Cheese is eaten very commonly in the East, as well as with us; one would have imagined therefore the Septuagint would have been at no loss in translating passages which speak of cheese, or in determining what they meant, if some other kind of milkmeats were meant in them. They nevertheless retain the original word in 2 Sam. xvii. 29, as if they did not understand its meaning; and other translators have supposed that word signifies *sucking calves.* The other two words the Septuagint translate by two different Greek words, which are understood to signify cheese; the difference between them, if there be a difference, not being, that I know of, well ascertained.

Dr. Shaw, in his account of the Barbary cheeses,† tells us they are small, rarely weighing above two or three pounds, and in shape and size like our penny loaves. One would imagine the ancient Jewish cheeses were of the same shape, since the same word signifies a hill, which in Job x. 10, is translated *cheese.* So the Septuagint translate the high hills of Ps. lxviii. 15, 16, by a word that signifies *cheeselike* hills. This would hardly have been, had their cheeses, which are commonly, if not always, eaten new, been like the new cheese of our country.

* 1 Sam. xvii. 18, 2 Sam. xvii. 29, Job x. 10. † P. 168.

The word in 1 Sam. xvii. 18, can hardly be imagined to signify cheese directly, since milk is added in the original, and cheeses of milk is so odd an expression: all cheese being made of milk of some kind or other. Our translators were so struck with this, that they have suppressed the word milk as perfectly superfluous. But as the word signifies a rolling instrument used for threshing, may we not suppose, that what Jesse bid his son David carry to the officer of the army, were ten baskets, somewhat of the shape of their threshing instruments, in which there was coagulated milk? Baskets made of rushes, or the dwarfpalm, are the cheesevats of Barbary;* into these they put the curds, and binding them up close, press them. But the Eastern cheeses are of so very soft a consistence after their being pressed, and even when they are brought to be eaten, that Sandys imagined they were not pressed at all:† a beastly kind of unpressed cheese, that lie in a lump, being his description of this part of the Eastern diet. Now if the cheeses sent by Jesse were as soft and tender as those Sandys speaks of; or if the milk was only coagulated, so as to be what we mean by the word curds, which according to Rauwolff, in a passage I shall have occasion very soon to quote, is a considerable part of the diet of the East? can we imagine any way more commodious for the carrying them to the army, than in the rush baskets in which curds were formed into cheese?

Nor would such baskets of coagulated milk have been an improper present for an officer in the army of Saul, notwithstanding Sandys thought it a beastly sort of food; for by comparing some passages of Dr. Pococke together, it appears, that such sort of cheese is used in the East at this time at the more elegant tables of persons of distinction. Thus, in describing the hospitality of the Arabs in Egypt, he says, "The middling people amongst them, and the Coptis, live much poorer. I have often sat down with them only to bread, raw onions, and a seed pounded

* Shaw, ubi supra. † P 51.

and put in oil, which they call *Serich*, produced by an herb called *Simsim*, into which they dip their bread;"* yet, poor as these repasts are, the chief difference between them and the collation prepared for the Governor of Faiume, with whom he travelled, and of whose way of living he speaks with honor, consisted chiefly, according to his own description, in the addition of new cheese, for he says,† it was of bread, raw onions, and a sort of salt pickled cheese. Ten cheeses then, of this sort, or ten baskets of curds, was by no means an improper present for Jesse to make on this occasion; but whether this may be thought to be the meaning of the sacred writer, I leave with my reader.

OBSERVATION XIX.

MILK, A GENERAL DIET IN THE EAST.

MILK is a great part of the diet of the Eastern people. Their goats furnish them with some of it, and Russell tells us,‡ are chiefly kept for that purpose; that they yield it in no inconsiderable quantity; and that it is sweet and well tasted.

This, at Aleppo, is, however, chiefly from the beginning of April to September; they being generally supplied the other part of the year with cow's milk, such as it is: for being commonly kept at the gardens, and fed with the refuse, the milk generally tastes so strong of garlick, or cabbageleaves, as to be very disagreeable. Might there not be the same difference in Judea in the time of Solomon? and may not his words, Prov. xxvii. 27, be designed to express the superior quality of goat's milk to that of any other kind in that country?

OBSERVATION XX.

DIFFERENT ARTICLES OF FUEL IN THE EAST.

IF some of the Eastern ways of baking and churning have surprised us, we shall be as much struck with their

* Vol. i. p. 182 The *Sesame* oil mentioned before, produced from the *Sesamum*. EDIT. † P. 56. ‡ Vol. ii. p. 150.

fuel. Wood is so scarce in those countries, that they make use of things that we do not think of, though little firing is burnt there, in comparison of what is consumed in colder countries.

Many travellers have taken notice of this, Dr. Russell in particular tells us, that at Aleppo they use wood and charcoal in their rooms, but heat their baths with cowdung, the parings of fruit, and such like things, which they employ people to gather for that purpose.* If these things are confined to the heating of baths at Aleppo, they are not in other places; for Pitts tells us† there is such a scarcity of wood at Grand Cairo, that they commonly heat their ovens with horse or cowdung, or dirt of the streets, what wood they have being brought from parts adjoining to the Black Sea, and sold by weight.

D'Arvieux in like manner,‡ complaining that one sort of Arab bread smells of smoke, and tastes of the cowdung used in baking it, informs us that the peasants often make use of the same fuel too, and that all who live in villages where there is not plenty of wood, are very careful to stock themselves with it; the children, he says, gather up the dung, and clap it against a wall to dry, from whence the quantity that is necessary for baking, or warming themselves, is taken from time to time.‖

But if this kind of turf is sometimes left sticking to the wall until it is used, in some of the villages of Palestine, it is not to be supposed that it continues there the rainy season; much less can we suppose the walls of the houses at Grand Cairo are thus ornamented: doubtless this stock of firing is laid up in some outhouse, or other con-

* Vol. i. p. 38. † P. 104. ‡ Voy. dans la Pal. p. 193, 194.

‖ Sir J. Chardin in his MS. tells us, "the Eastern people always used cowdung for baking, boiling a pot, and dressing all kinds of victuals that are easily cooked; especially in countries that have but little wood. As for the Indians, they use it for another reason: namely, lest in dressing their food with wood, some worm or insect should be destroyed, for whose death they would become guilty; for this cause, in the Indies they bring carts full of dried cowdung to sell, for this creature they believe to be the holiest of all, and much better than man."

venient place, as the same sort of fuel is by those of the poor people of this country who make use of it.*

This I have thought may, possibly, serve to explain the complaint of Jeremiah, Lam. iv. 5. *They that did feed delicately, are desolate in the streets: they that were brought up in scarlet, embrace dunghills.* This taking refuge in dunghills is not mentioned in European descriptions of the horrors of war; but if they in the East burnt dung anciently, as much as they do now, and preserved a stock of it with the solicitude of these times, it will appear quite natural to complain that those that had fed delicately, were wandering without food in the ways; and they that had been covered, not only with clean garments, but with robes of magnificence, were forced, by the destruction of their palaces, to take up their abode in places designed for the reception of this sort of turf, and to sit down upon those heaps of dried dung.

There is a passage in Philo which may be illustrated by this account, and in return serves to confirm the explanation I have given. That author, in his book against Flaccus the president of Egypt, complaining of the injuries done to the Jewish nation in that country, tells us that Alexandria was divided into five parts; that two of them were called the Jewish wards, because mostly inhabited by Jews, who dwelt also, though scatteringly, in the other divisions; that Flaccus suffered their enemies to expel the Jews out of four of these, and to force them all into one single quarter, and that the smallest, which not being able to contain them on account of their multitude, many of them were forced to go out of the city, to the shores, monuments, and dunghills; that their enemies spoiled their houses from which they had driven them,

* Dr. Russell remarks, MS. note "The Arabs carefully collect the dung of the sheep and camel, as well as that of the cow." He further observes, that "the dung, offals, &c. made use of in the Bagnios, after having been new gathered in the streets, are carried out of the city and laid in great heaps to dry, where they become very offensive; while dried in the town adjoining to the Bagnios, they are intolerably offensive while drying; and are so at all times when it rains, though they be stacked, pressed hard together, and thatched at top." EDIT.

and finding nobody opposed them, broke open their shops too, carrying away every thing they found there.*

This passage is full of references to Eastern customs. How far the editors of Philo have explained them, I know not, my edition has few or no notes; but it is very certain this account, if considered with attention, must be puzzling to those that are strangers to the customs of the East. Dr. Shaw observes,† that among the Moors the graves of the principal citizens have cupolas, or vaulted chambers, of three, four, or more yards square, built over them, and that they frequently lie open, and afford an occasional shelter from the inclemency of the weather: this circumstance explains, he supposes, the Demoniac's dwelling among the tombs, Mark v. 3; and is equally a comment, on that part of Philo's account which speaks of the Jews going for shelter, out of the city, to the monuments. A passage in Norden explains another as happily, which I was, I must confess, quite at a loss to account for till I read that author: "What we have mentioned," says that Danish gentleman, "is too barren a spot to continue there any longer. It is better to cast our eyes on those little hollow places of the shore, which they made use of for agreeable retreats; where they diverted themselves with enjoying the cool air; and from whence, without being seen, but when they chose it, they saw every thing that passed in the port. Some rocks that jut out, furnished a charming situation; and natural grottos, which those rocks had made, gave the opportunity of forming there, with the assistance of the chissel, real places of pleasure. In effect, we find entire apartments made, in this manner, &c.‡ All these agreeable retreats, which

* P. 973, ed. Francfort. 1691. See also the preceding note from Dr. Russell.

† P. 219.

‡ In the late expedition of the British to Egypt, which terminated in the expulsion of the French from that country, when the English soldiers landed, they dug, after the custom of the country, *hollow places* on the shore, as retreats from the heat and insects. On this very ground the French cavalry charged, but falling among these holes, they were thrown into confusion, and completely routed. EDIT.

are in great number, have, however, no other ornament. The places, where the chissel has passed, are smooth; but the rest has the natural shape of the rock." As to the third thing,* their repairing to dunghills, it can only be understood, I think, in the manner I have given an account of.†

After this, every one will see the propriety of that passage, 1 Sam. ii. 8, *He raiseth up the poor out of the dust, lifteth up the beggar from the dunghill, to set them among princes, and to make them inherit the throne of glory.* He raiseth the beggar from the dunghill, out of a cottage, that is, in which heaps of dried dung are piled up for fuel, as some of the worst accommodated of our poor practise with respect to the turf of his country: or, rather, he raiseth up a poor exile, forced to beg his bread in his wanderings, and to lodge in some outhouse where dung is laid up, out of the city, in order to set him on the throne of a royal palace built in the midst of it.

The applicableness of this account, concerning the frequent burning of dung in the East, to the case of Ezekiel,‡

* P. 22, 23, vol. i.

† The Eastern management Philo refers to, in the other part of this passage, is what several authors have agreed in, that their houses are at a distance from their shops, which shops are ranged on each side of a covered street, which they call a *bazar*, shut up by a gate at each end. In these shops they manufacture and sell their goods.

‡ Ch. iv. Monsieur Voltaire seems to be extremely scandalized at this circumstance, for he has repeated the objection over and over again in his writings. He supposes somewhere, that the denying the Providence of God is extreme impiety, yet in other places he supposes the prophetic intimation to Ezekiel, that he should prepare his bread with *human dung*, as expressive of the hardships Israel were about to undergo, could not come from God, being incompatible with his Majesty: God then, it naturally follows, never did reduce by his Providence any poor mortals into such a state, as to be obliged to use human dung in preparing their bread; never could do it; but those that are acquainted with the calamities of human life, will not be so positive, upon this point, as this lively Frenchman. To make the objection as strong as possible, by raising the disgust of the elegant part of the world to the greatest height, he, with his usual ingeniousness, supposes the dung was to be eaten with the bread perpared after this manner, which would form an admirable confection, Comme il n'est point d'usage de manger de telles confitures sur son pain, la plûpart des hommes trouvent ces commandements indignes de la Majésté divine. La Raison

is much more visible. Commentators have observed something of it, but I do not remember to have met with any who have thoroughly entered into the spirit of the divine command; they only coldly observe, that several nations make use of cowdung for fuel. He was first enjoined to make use of *human* dung in the preparation of his food, though at length the Prophet obtained permission to use *cowdung*, for the baking that bread which was to be expressive of the miserable food Israel should be obliged to eat, in their dispersion among the Gentiles: had this been ordered at first, it would by no means have sufficiently expressed those necessities, and that filthiness in their way of living, to which they were to be reduced; for very many of the Eastern people very commonly use cowdung in the baking of their bread; therefore he was ordered to make use of human dung, which was terribly significant of the extremities to which they were to be reduced. No nation made use of that miserable kind of fuel, whereas the other was very common, though it is not very agreeable for the purpose, the bread so baked being burnt, smoky, and disagreeably tasted.

If cowdung was very much in use in Palestine for fuel, as we have reason to think wood was not more plentiful there anciently, when the country was much fuller of inhabitants, than it is now, its extreme slowness in burning must make the quickness of the fire of thorns very observable, and give a liveliness to that passage, *As the crackling of thorns under a pot, so is the laughter of the fool*,* and to some other places, which has not been, I think, duly observed. The contrast is extremely remarkable. La Roque, taking notice of the excessive slowness of the

par Alphabet, Art. Ezechiel. The eating bread baked by being covered up under such embers would most certainly be great misery, though the ashes were swept and blown off with care; but they could hardly be said to eat a composition of bread and human excrements. With the same kind of liberty he tells us, that *cowdung* is sometimes eaten through all Desert Arabia, Lettre du Traducteur du Cantique des Cantiques, which is only true as explained to mean nothing more than that their bread is, not unfrequently, baked under the embers of cowdung: but is eating bread so baked eating cowdung? * Eccles. vii. 6.

one,* informs us, that it is a common thing among the Arabs, on this account, to threaten a person with burning him with cowdung, when they would menace him with a dreadfully lingering punishment; on the other hand, every one must be apprized of the shortlived violence of the fire of thorns, furze, and things of that kind: but to make the thought complete, it is requisite to add, that cowdung, this very slow fuel, is that which is commonly used; thorns, &c. less frequently.†

But when they do use this latter kind of fuel, it seems to be under their pots, which further illustrates the expression, and accounts for the particularity that appears in the mentioning of pots, as it seems otherwise to have been sufficient to have said in general, *as the crackling of thorns, so is the laughter of the fool.* And till this thought occurred, I must confess, I did not know what to make of that account of d'Arvieux, when, in describing the Arab methods of dressing their food, he tells us, they sometimes put a whole lamb, or kid, into a kettle, covered up close, over a fire of vine twigs,‡ &c. I could not conceive why he should mention the sort of fuel they made use of with such precision; why vine twigs rather than any other sort of wood? why any thing more than the word *fire* in general? The true reason of this particularity I have since thought, is, that the fuel he saw used almost universally among them, was cowdung, but that a quicker fire being necessary for the stewing a whole lamb or kid, he saw them make use of wood upon that occasion, and it happened to be vine twigs, he set it down in his papers, from whence la Roque, not distinguishing between the simplicity of private memorandums, and what is fit to be published in an extract drawn from them, mentions this particular circumstance, though without doubt a fire of thorns, furze, or any other quick burning sort of fuel would have done as well. It serves, however, to illustrate the words of the royal preacher, as well as Ps. lviii.

*Voy. dans la Pal. p. 44, note.

† Dr. Russell observes, MS. note, "*Dung* is preserved by way of store, but *other fuel* is preferred whenever it can be found on the spot." EDIT.

‡ Voy. dans la Pal. p. 193.

9, and Job xli. 31: cowdung, a very slow faint fire, being used for fuel very commonly; but thorns, or something of that kind, often for boiling.*

In like manner Sir John Chardin observes in his MS. note, Ps. lviii. "that on account of the scarcity of wood, they burn most commonly in Persia, heath, &c. and that these substances are wont to crackle; and that they use thorns to make their pot boil." He cites also Amos iv. 11, and Zech. iii. 2, as well as Eccles. vii. 6, as having some relation to this observation. If I comprehend his thought, which is indeed expressed in a very short manner, he supposes the Prophets, in the two first places, compare those of whom they were speaking, to such small twigs, as must in a few minutes have been consumed, had they not been snatched out of the burning, and not to those battens, or large branches of great trees, we are wont to burn in these northern countries, and which will lie long on the fire before they are reduced to ashes. And it must be confessed the image considered after this manner, is much more strong and lively than otherwise it would be.

The same thought is applicable to Isai. vii. 4: only there, these slender firebrands are supposed to be smoking; that is, as I apprehend, having the steam rising from one end with force, from the violence of the fire burning at the other, which, in such a state, must soon reduce them to ashes. How lively the image! The remains of two small twigs, burning with violence at one end, as appears by the strong steaming of the other, sure therefore soon to disappear, reduced into ashes: so shall these two kings soon be no more. The curious Vitringa sadly fails, I think, in his explanation of this metaphor.

As they have such a scarcity of fuel, they make use not only of cowdung, but of parings of fruit, at Aleppo,

* On this passage Dr. Russell observes, MS. note, "Where *vine twigs* were to be found, no doubt a variety of brushwood might be procured. The vine twigs, however, impart a less disagreeable taste, and the ashes are more useful for washing their linen." EDIT.

Dr. Russell tells us,* and such like things: doubtless he means withered stalks of herbs and flowers.† Indeed, he only speaks of these things as used for heating their baths; but as cowdung is, we know, by other authors, used for baking, no reason, sure, can be imagined, why these other things should not be used for the same purpose, where they were to be had: and Dr. Shaw, I remember, expressly tells us,‡ that myrtle, rosemary, and other plants, are made use of in Barbary, to heat their ovens, as well as bagnios. Does not this give us a clear comment on those words of our LORD, Matt. vi. 28, 29, 30? *Consider the lilies of the field how they grow: they toil not, neither do they spin. And yet I say unto you, that even Solomon, in all his glory, was not arrayed like one of these. Wherefore if* GOD *so clothe the grass of the field, which today is, and tomorrow is cast into the oven, shall he not much more clothe you, O ye of little faith?* The grass of the field here, apparently, is to be understood to include the lilies of which our LORD had been speaking, consequently herbs in general: Critics have remarked this large sense of the word χορτος;|| nor can it be with any show of reason pretended, that our LORD is speaking of the morrow in the rigid sense of the word, the day immediately following, but of a little time after. Behold, says our LORD, these lilies of the field, how beauteous are their vestments, how exquisitely are they perfumed. Solomon in all his glory was not thus arrayed, thus perfumed! yet magnificent as they appear one day, they are in a manner the next thrown into the oven, their dried stalks are, with the dried stalks of other plants employed in heating the ovens of the villages round about us; and will not GOD much more clothe you that are my disciples?

This account of the burning these things may, perhaps, be of some use to throw light on those passages of the Mishnah,§ which speak of savoury, hyssop, and thyme,

* Vol. i. p. 58. † "He does so; whatever is thrown into the dust hole, or into the street." Dr. Russell's MS. note. EDIT.

‡ P. 85. || See Leigh's Crit. Sac. upon the word.

§ Vide Misnam in tit. Shebiith.

under the notion of wood, or of gathering the leaves of vines and reeds, both green and dry, which dry leaves of vines can hardly be supposed to have been gathered with any other design than for fuel. But of how little consequence soever the illustrating the Mishnah may be thought to be, the observation will not be unacceptable to an attentive reader of his Bible, especially if he should remark how much ingenious authors have been embarrassed with this passage of St. Matthew. One of them in particular, after having changed the word *oven*, in his translation, into the word *furnace* or *still*, gives us this note :* "I apprehend that this may be as properly the signification of the word κλιβανον, as oven, and that the sense will then appear to be more easy; for it can hardly be supposed, that grass or flowers should be thrown into the oven the day after they are cut down; unless it was the custom to heat their ovens with new hay, which seems not very natural." Not very natural indeed, were hay made in those countries, which we are assured by authors in general is seldom or never done! nor does it seem much more natural to me, to throw grass into a still,† if it could be proved that the Greek word signifies a *still* as well as an oven. And I am afraid that even as to flowers themselves from many of which the Eastern people at this time distil various odoriferous waters, and might do the same anciently, the thought would not be very conformable to the views of our LORD, and consequently not what he meant: for his sentiment here, without controversy, is, that if GOD covers with so much glory things of no further value than to serve the meanest uses, will he not take care of his servants who are so precious in his eye, and designed for such important services in the world? consequently he cannot be supposed to be speaking of precious flowers, distilled either for medicinal purposes, or to make rich perfumes;

* See Dod. Fam. Exp. vol. i. p. 256. † Dr. Russell queries, whether the Jews in the time of our LORD had any notion of *distillation*. "Herbs, flowers, &c. he observes, are not put into the furnace the day they are gathered, but are first permitted to dry. Herbage, when cut down, is dry in twentyfour hours; but the shrubs, thorns, &c. are generally dry before they are cut down." MS. note. EDIT

but of those of which men make no higher use, than they do of cowdung and stubble.

OBSERVATION XXI.

METHOD OF SAVING FUEL.

THE scarcity of fuel occasions another particular management among the Eastern people, of which Rauwolff gives us the following account: "They make in their tents or houses a hole about a foot and a half deep, wherein they put their earthen pipkins or pots, with the meat in them closed up, so that they are in the half above the middle: three fourth parts thereof they lay about with stones, and the fourth part is left open, through which they fling in their dried dung, and also sometimes small twigs and straws, when they can have them, which burn immediately, and give so great a heat, that the pot groweth so hot as if it stood in the middle of a lighted coal heap, so that they boil their meat with a little fire, quicker than we do ours with a great one on our hearths."*

As the Israelites must have had as much cause to be sparing of their fuel as any people, and especially when they were journeying in the Wilderness, the preceding quotation may be believed to be a better comment on Lev. xi. 35, than is to be found in any of the writings of those that are called commentators. One of these† supposes the word translated *ranges for pots*, signifies an earthen pot to boil meat in with a lid; another gives it *feet;* but such vessels come under the direction of the thirtythird verse. Nor does the original word requiring its destruction agree with these explications; for it does not signify to destroy by breaking to pieces, as a vessel is broken, but by breaking down, as altars, houses, walls of cities, &c. are broken down, and destroyed. This perfectly agrees with Rauwolff's description of the Eastern apparatus for boiling a pot, which, though not expressed in the happiest

* P. 192. † Vide Poli Syn. in loc

ıanner by his translators, yet is thus far sufficiently clear, 'three fourth parts thereof," says he, "they lay about ıith stones," which little building this law of Moses reıuired to be broken down. How clear is this! What idea ur English translators of Leviticus designed to convey, ıy the term ranges for pots, I do not well know, but somehing distinct from a pot was evidently designed; and hough it might be thought strange that any thing of buildng should be used, by those that lived such a flitting kind f life as the Israelites in the Wilderness, for the boiling heir pots, yet we find, by Rauwolff, the Arabs make use f such an apparatus, and he gives us some description f it.*

OBSERVATION XXII.

BAKERS AND BAKEHOUSES IN THE EAST.

But though an oven was designed only to serve a ingle family, and to bake for them no more than the read of one day, in ancient times, which circumstance ught to be recollected, in order to enter into the force of Lev. xxvi. 26, and is an usage that still continues in some places of the East; yet it appears that there were ancientıy, as there now are, some public bakehouses. So we ead of the *bakers' street*, Jer. xxxvii. 21. This might posıibly be only a temporary regulation to supply the wants of the soldiers, assembled from other places to defend Jerusalem, who might receive daily a proper quantity of bread from the royal bakehouses; as at Algiers, at this time, according to Dr. Shaw,† besides some money, their soldiers that are unmarried receive each of them a number of loaves every day. And if so, nothing could be more natural than for the king to order Jeremiah a piece, or a cake, of bread from thence, every day, after the same manner. But however this may be, Pitts informs us,‡ that they have public bakehouses at Algiers for people

* For a full description of this baking apparatus among the Arabs, see note on Obs. xi. p. 402. † P. 352. ‡ P. 65.

in common, the women only preparing the dough at home,* and other persons making it their business to bake it, who send their boys for that purpose about the streets, to give notice of their being ready to take people's bread, and to carry it to the bakehouses; "upon this the women within come, and knock at the inside of the door, which the boy hearing, makes toward the house. The women open the door a very little way, and hiding their faces, deliver the cakes to him; which, when baked, he brings to the door again, and the women receive them in the same manner as they gave them."

Pitts adds to this, that they bake their cakes every day, or every other day, and give the boy who brings the bread, a piece, or little cake, for the baking, which the baker sells.

Small as the Eastern loaves are, they break them, it seems, and give a piece only, according to this, to the baker, as a gratification for his trouble. This will illustrate Ezekiel's account of the false prophetesses receiving as gratuities pieces of bread;† they are compensations still used in the East, but compensations of the meanest kind, and for services of the lowest sort.

OBSERVATION XXIII.

VARIOUS PREPARATIONS OF CORN FOR FOOD.

But they have other ways of preserving their corn for food, besides making it into bread. Burgle,‡ Dr. Russell tells us, is very commonly used among the Christians of Aleppo: and in a note he informs us, that this "Burgle is wheat boiled, then bruised by a mill, so as to take the husk off; then dried, and kept for use. The usual way of dressing it, is either by boiling it like rice into a pillaw, or making it into balls with meat and spices; and either fried or boiled, these balls are called cubby." Rauwolff|| and Ockley speak of the like preparation under the name

* "It is the same, says Dr. Russell, at Aleppo, each house makes its own bread" MS. note. Edit.

† Ezek. xiii. 19. ‡ Vol. i. p. 117. || P. 97.

of sawik; * but the first speaks of it as prepared from barley, and the other from barley and rice as well as wheat.

Again Jones, in his account of the diet of the Moors of West Barbary,† makes mention of the flour of parched barley, which he says is the chief provision they make for travelling, and that some of them use it for their diet at home, as well as in journeying. I will set down his words. "What is most used by travellers, is *zumeet, tumeet,* or flour of parched barley for *limereece*. These are not Arabian, but Shilha names; so I believe it is of longer standing than the Mohamedans in that part of Afric. They are all three made of parched barley flour, which they carry in a leather satchel. Zumeet is the flour mixed with honey, butter, and spice; tumeet is the same flour done up with origan oil: and limereece is only mixed with water, and so drank; this quenches thirst much better than water alone, satisfies an hungry appetite, cools and refreshes tired and weary spirits, overcoming those ill effects a hot sun and fatiguing journey occasion." He says also, that among the mountaineers of Suse this is used for their diet at home, as well as when they are on a journey.

May not one or other of these sorts of food be what is meant in Scripture, by what we render parched corn? Russell and Ockley speak of the sawik or burgle as dried; and Jones expressly calls the chief provision the Moors of West Barbary use in travelling, the *flour of parched barley.*

Dr. Shaw is, I know, of a different opinion. He supposes‡ the kali of the Scriptures, which he translates parched pulse, means parched cicers, which he says are in the greatest repute, after they are parched in pans and ovens; and adds, as a strong confirmation, that there is not, as far as he has been informed, any other pulse prepared in this manner: but there is such a thing as dried

* *Sawik* is quite a different dish: Mr. H. confounds two distinct things. *Burgle* is never parched like the corn, which is thus treated when in the ear. EDIT.

† Miscell. Cur. vol. iii. p. 390, 391. See also Phil. Trans. abr. vol. iii. part 2. ch. 3. art. 35. P. 140.

ripened to be made bread of:* on which occasions only mention is made of it in Scripture.

But if this Jewish parched corn is to be understood of the flour of parched barley, it does not thence follow, that burgle, sawik, or boiled wheat dried, was unknown among them; and I have been ready to think, that this modern management of corn will give light to a remarkable passage of the history of David, the concealment, I mean, of his two spies in a well, whose mouth was covered with corn,† 2 Sam. xvii. 19. The exposing corn in this manner must have been common in Judea, else it would rather have given suspicion than safety. But what ground corn, for so we translate it, should be laid out for in the open air, if we suppose it was meal, cannot easily be imagined. Bishop Patrick supposes it was corn newly threshed out, which she pretended to dry, though no such thing is practised among us in a much moister country; and the word is elsewhere used to signify corn beaten in a very different manner, Prov. xxvii. 22.‡ Sanctius and Mariana both observed,§ that the word there expresses barley with the husk taken off, *pearl* or *French barley* as we call it; but as I suppose, the Bishop did not imagine there was any other use for such sort of barley than as a medicine, as among us, he could not think probable that the woman should have such a quantity of it: but these accounts of burgle and sawik remove the difficulty; and it should seem, from this passage, the preparation of corn after this manner is as ancient as the time of David at least. To this may be added, that quantities of the sawik are prepared at once, in order to be laid up in store;‖ whereas corn there is usually ground

* Parched *ears* of corn must have been more so, such as Hasselquist describes, mentioned in the last note.

† "This in all probability, says Dr. Russell, MS. note, was *burgle*, in preparing of which, after it has been softened in warm water, it is commonly laid out in the court yard to dry. EDIT.

‡ The passage in Proverbs, he further adds, alludes clearly to *burgle*, which is thus pounded in a trough or mortar with a wooden pestle. EDIT

§ Vide Poli Syn. in loc.

‖ See Rauwolff in Ray's Coll. of Travels, tom. i. p. 97.

into meal in small parcels, the people of those countries baking every day, and grinding their corn as they want it. What is more, d'Arvieux, who speaks of this prepared corn under the name of bourgoul, expressly mentions its being *dried in the sun* after having spoken of their preparing a whole year's provision of it at once. Voy. dans. la Pal. p. 200.

OBSERVATION XXIV

THE MANNER OF PRESERVING THEIR CORN.

BEFORE I quit this part of their food, I ought to take some notice of the manner in which they keep the corn they are spending, which Sandys tells us* is by means of long vessels of clay, it being subject to be eaten by worms without that precaution. This he observed at Gaza.

Agreeable to this I remember Norden tells us that a Barbarin of Upper Egypt opened one of the great jars, in order to show him how they preserved their corn there.†

That barrel in which the woman of Zarephath kept her corn, of which she had only enough left to make an handful of meal, 1 Kings xvii. 12, might be a vessel of much the same kind, and consequently improperly translated a *barrel*. It is certain it is the same word, in the original, that is used for the vessels of which Gideon's

* P. 117.

† Vol. ii p. 119. The MS. C. mentions the same thing in a note on Bel and the Dragon, v. iii. where, observing that the Eastern word used there signifies a measure for water, or some other liquid, not for flour, it informs us, that in the East they keep their flour in pots, jars, &c. not in sacks or barrels, on account of insects.

Dr. Russell says, MS. note, that "at Aleppo the corn is preserved in a large wooden chest called *amber*; the grain is put in at the top, and, when wanted, let out at a small opening or window at bottom." EDIT.

Dr. Buchanan informs us, *Journey through the Mysore, &c.* vol. i. p. 91, that in the Mysore country, the *Paddy* or rice in the husks, is kept in this way. Some, says he, preserve it, in *large earthen jars* that are kept in the house; others preserve it in small cylindrical stores which the potters *make of clay*, and are called *woday*, the mouth is covered by an inverted pot, and the *Paddy* as wanted is drawn out of a hole at the bottom. EDIT

soldiers concealed their torches, and which they broke with a clashing, terrifying noise, when they blew with their trumpets, and both circumstances suppose their being vessels of earth.

It does not however follow, from hence, that they had these things with them for the keeping their corn; it might be for fetching water, for we find the same word is expressive of the vessels in which women were wont to fetch water;* and no wonder, since the same sort of vessels are still used for both purposes. Norden speaking of great jars for corn, as I just now remarked; and Dr. Pococke on the other hand takes notice, almost twice together, of the women of that country carrying water in earthen jars.

The four barrels of water then, said to have been ordered by Elijah to be poured on the Sacrifice, 1 Kings xviii. 33, should have been translated four jars. Rebecca most certainly did not carry a *barrel*, a vessel of above thirty gallons, upon her head.

OBSERVATION XXV.

THE MANNER OF SOWING THEIR CORN.

It may be proper also to make some remarks on their manner of raising corn, of which they use so much for food: and here we may observe, that oxen and asses are made use of in sowing their grounds; and that some lands that are not well watered are extremely fertile.

Isaiah plainly supposes that oxen and asses were used in sowing their lands, ch. xxxii. 20; it is still so in Syria.† When Dr. Russell gives his readers an account of the manner of sowing grain about Aleppo, he says, "No harrow is used, but the ground is ploughed a second time after it is sown, in order to cover the grain; in some places, where the soil is a little sandy, they plough but once, and that is after sowing. The plough is so light, that a man of moderate strength may easily carry it with one hand: a little cow, or at most two, and sometimes only an ass, is sufficient to draw it in ploughing, and one man both drives and holds it with so much ease, that he generally smokes his pipe at the same time."‡ Here we see cows and asses used for ploughing, and ploughing instead of har-

* Gen. xxiv. 14, 15, 16, 18, &c.

† Moses, in like manner, supposes that oxen and asses were the animals used for ploughing, Deut. xxii. 10.

‡ Vol. i. p. 73.

rowing for covering the seeds; just as the Prophet joins sowing, and the feet of the ox and the ass together.

Dr. Russell also gives us to understand, that many large plains in Syria, which have no water, but the rain which falls in winter, yet are exceedingly fertile. Are we then to understand Isaiah, in that passage, of the sowing rice, and of the very important qualities of that sort of grain, when he speaks of their being blessed who sowed beside all waters? So Sir J. Chardin understood the passage, and I shall give the reader his note on these words, that he may judge for himself.

After reciting the words of the Prophet, he goes on, "This exactly answers the manner of planting rice, for they sow it upon the water; and before sowing it, while the earth is covered with water, they cause the ground to be trodden by oxen, horses, and asses, who go midleg deep, and this is the way of preparing the ground for sowing."* He adds, "as they sow the rice on the water, they transplant it in the water." To this is joined a note in the margin, relating to the excellent qualities of rice; "rice has this good and particular property, that it is good for all, and at all times: for infants the day they are born, and for the dying."†

OBSERVATION XXVI.

THE METHOD OF PRESERVING THEIR FIGS.

Dr. Chandler tells us,‡ that some dried figs, which he purchased, in his travels in Lesser Asia, were strung like beads, and that he found them extremely good as well as cheap; is it not probable then, that those collections of figs, which the Scriptures mention, were strings of this dried fruit, rather than cakes or lumps, as our translators render the original word,|| דבלים *debaleem?*

* He mentions the same circumstance in a note on Amos vi. 12; and supposes the running on a rock, is opposed to the running to and fro on ground covered four fingers' deep with water.

† This eulogium is miserably overstrained. Rice is a poor aliment when compared with wheat; and of what use can *rice*, or indeed any thing else, be to the *dying?* See the different methods of sowing rice in Egypt and in the East Indies. Obser. xxxiii. and xxxiv. at the beginning of the following volume. Edit.

‡ P. 215. || A marginal note of the Bishop's Bible is, "Compoundes. So many figes as cleave together like a cake, are called a cake."

Dried figs, when closely packed, will certainly adhere together, and may be called cakes or lumps of figs, as is visible to every one that has visited our English shops where they are sold; and from thence our translators seem to have derived their ideas. But it does not follow from thence, that they appear in the like form in the countries where they are actually dried, and laid up among their other stores, for their own consumption.

Two circumstances seem to show that these ideas are not exact. In the first place, they seem to be spoken of as parcels of nearly the same size: *Abigail carried to David two hundred cakes of figs*, 1 Sam. xxv. 18. What notion can a reader form of the quantity of figs, if the accidental lumps of adhering figs were meant? Some lumps are ten times, it may be, larger than others, when they are taken out of the vessel in which they have been packed, and strongly squeezed together. A more determinate notion seems to have been intended to be conveyed by that term. So also when a lump of figs was ordered to be applied to Hezekiah's bile, 2 Kings xx. 7.

A second thing is, that when a part of such a parcel is spoken of, a word is used which signifies* *cutting*; but cutting can by no means be necessary to divide a lump of our figs into parts. Nothing is more easily divided. But a string of figs might require cutting.

The doctor has said nothing of the number of figs usually put on one string, or of the weight of one of these strings. It should seem they were but small, since Abigail carried David twice as many strings of figs as dried bunches of grapes, 1 Sam. xxv. 18.

Future travellers, may ascertain these with so much precision as may satisfy the curious.

I must however add, that I have somewhere met with an account, that some of the people of those countries press their dried figs into vessels of a determinate size, which must enable them to make their lumps of figs equal to each other, and of a well known bigness. But even in this case it cannot be necessary to part them by cutting.

* פלח Pelach. 1 Sam. xxx 12.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.